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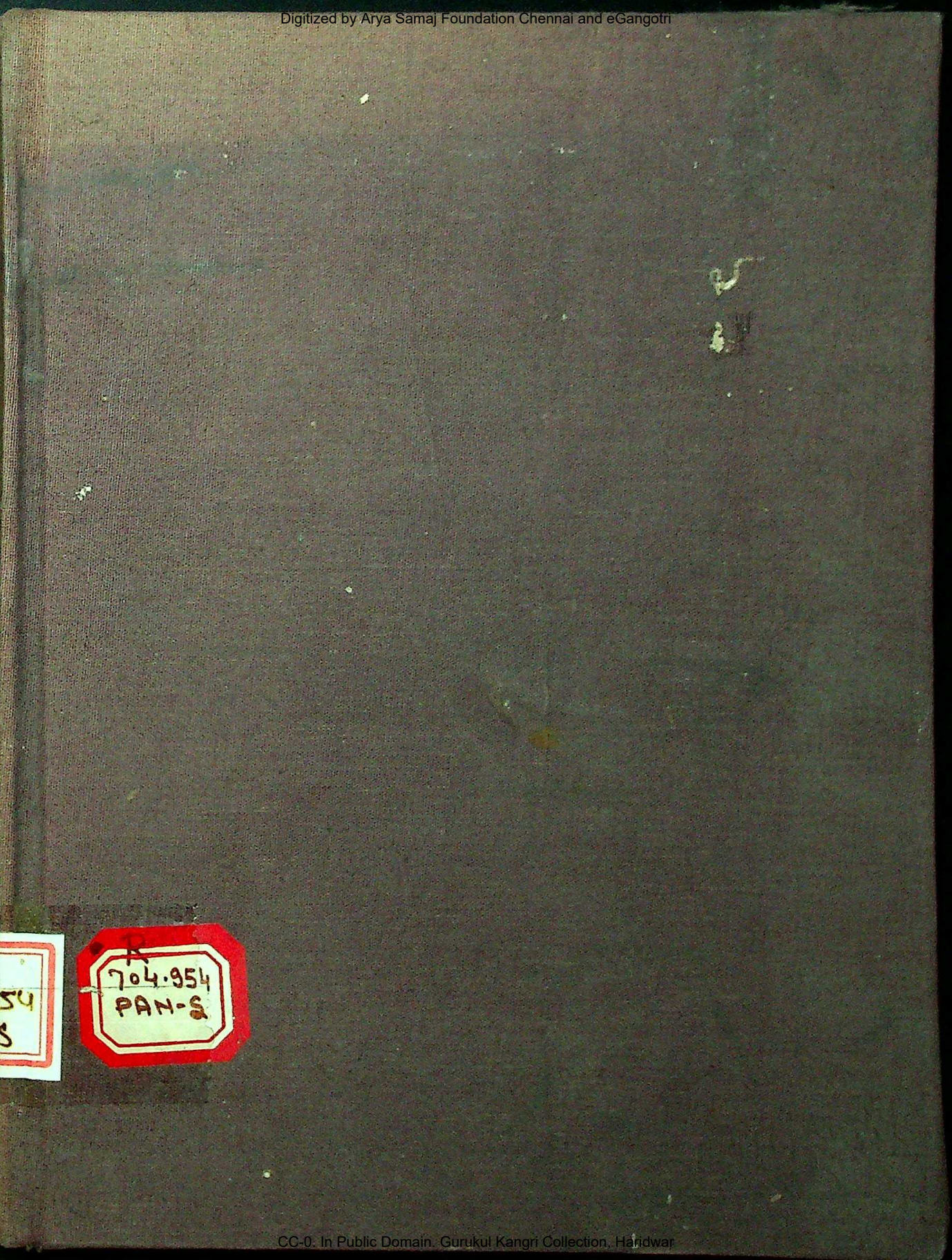

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GOD IN INDIAN MYTHOLOGY

A STUDY

DURGA PANDEY

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कृपया पुस्तक के ऊपर कोई निशान आदि
न लगायें।

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पुस्तकालय

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SŪRYA

ICONOGRAPHICAL STUDY OF THE INDIAN SUN GOD

109895

DURGA PRASAD PANDEY

Ph.D. (Cambridge), D.litt. (Leiden), Order of St. John.

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DEDICATED TO

The Memory of My beloved Mother

Late Smt. Kulwanti Pandey

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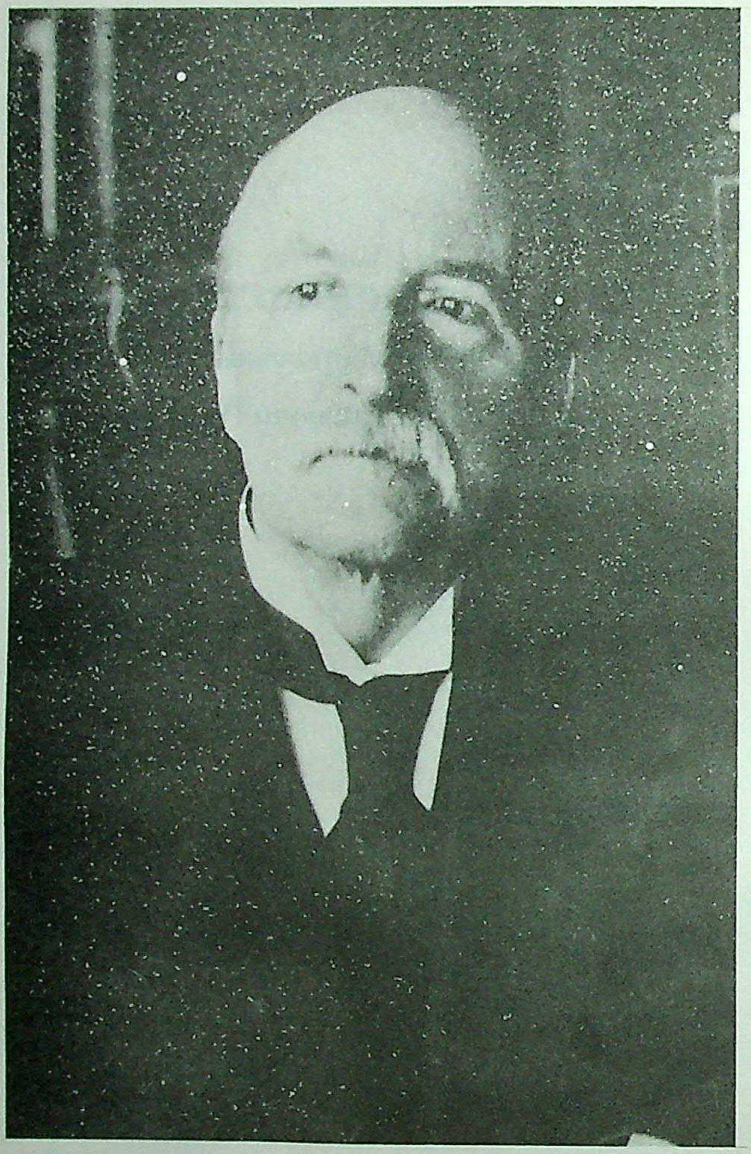

Prof. Vogel

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Doctor Bagchi,

Let me, as your promotor, be the first to congratulate you and to address you by the title of Doctor which you are now allowed to attach to your name.

It must be a matter of great satisfaction to you that you have at last reached the goal for which two years ago you decided to come over to Holland.

You had to overcome various obstacles to attain this end. First of all, you had to cross the ocean and to make a prolonged stay in a foreign country a kind of Uttarakuru, far from your homeland. Next you had to pass another ocean in the form of an examination and then there came the great task of writing a thesis in a language with which you were but little familiar.

It was your wish to select a subject relating to Brahmanical iconography. This choice, too, involved certain difficulties. Images of deities can, of course, be best studied from the originals and here in Holland we do not possess a single specimen of a Sūrya image from India. Fortunately we have in the Kern Institute a fairly representative collection of photographs of Brahmanical icons and also all important publications relating to Indian iconography. Besides these iconographical texts you had to consult Purāṇic literature in which passages occur describing the figures of the principal gods. This class of sacred books is not so well represented in our libraries and you had to proceed to England a year ago and to spend some months in that country in order to copy and study those passages.

You have collected a mass of materials relating to the iconography of Sūrya and you have systematically arranged

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this information in your recorded chapter. This part of your work will be found extremely useful by any scholar interested in your subject

The composition of this chapter necessitated a great deal of labour, much patient research and careful reading and translation. But another heavier task was still to come – the task of studying and describing the immense number of Yakṣa images found all over India. The great majority of these statues belong to the medieval period; they closely follow the rules prescribed in the iconographical texts. Here a comparative study did not present very grave problems, except perhaps in certain questions of detail

The case was different with regard to the earlier images of Yakṣa which do not answer the rules laid down in iconographical texts. They are few in number but show a great diversity and features which are often hard to explain. You will be the first to admit that you have not succeeded in solving all the various riddles presented by those early representations of the Indian Yakṣa-god. But you have rightly recognised the problems and offered such interpretations as seemed most plausible.

I hope that after your return to your country you will find ample opportunity to continue your study of the Yakṣa images found in Indian museums and that you will be able within a reasonable time to produce your book in a final form, well printed and well illustrated. It will be welcomed by all students of Brahmanical iconography and will be considered a valuable contribution to our knowledge of that important branch of Indian archaeology

Let me conclude by expressing the wish that your further scholarly career may be successful, that you may secure a position best suited to your tastes and talents and that you will retain pleasant memories of your stay in our old University-town.

J. Ph. Vogel

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PREFACE

In this monograph we have endeavoured to trace the evolution of the Indian sun-image. In dealing with the subject, special attention has been paid to religious and political events which have exercised their influence on the history of art and literature. As a matter of fact, no honest judgement could be expessed on questions relating to Indian Art without a sympathetic knowledge of her religious activities, occasionally illuminated or darkened by political changes. These pages however, do not profess to deal with the history of art or religion; only such points are touched upon as may help us to a better understanding of the subject.

The iconographical texts are classified in accordance with their geographical distribution. We have made an attempt to arrange the sculptures according to their chronological order, which is mainly based on their styles. The sun-images found outside the geographical boundaries of India, are discussed in an Appendix.

Now I take the opportunity to express my profound regards and sincere gratitude to my Guru Professor J.Ph. Vogel, who not only has taken pains to go through the entire manuscript with scrupulous care, suggesting improvements and always assisting me with his wide knowledge and ex-

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perience, but favoured me with his paternal affection, for which I can not more than merely record my indebtedness to him. I have also great pleasure in acknowledging the kind help of the Trustees of the Kern Institute, and the Conservator, Dr. A.J. Goedheer, and the librarian, Miss N. Daman, litt. dra., who have greatly facilitated and furthered my study.

I am highly indebted to Professor N.J. Krom, who has placed his unrivalled knowledge of Indo-Javanese archaeology at my disposal, and also wish to record my hearty gratitude to Colonel Th. Van Erp for the photographs and valuable information regarding the sun-images found in Java.

It is my most pleasant duty to thank my friends Dr. D.L. Friedmann, Miss Dinah Stock, M.A. (Oxford), and Mr. J.G. de Casparis, litt. drs., for their ready help and useful suggestions.

I must also pay my high regards to all those authors, whose works I have consulted, which have enabled me to make my way through the subject.

maṇau vajrasamutkīrṇe sūtrasyevāsti me gatiḥ.

(Raghuvaṃśa, 1,3)

Durga Prasad Pandey

Leiden, Kern Institute,

June 20, 1939.

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PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION

This monograph submitted originally as a thesis for the award of a D.litt. degree of the Leiden University; Holland on July 3, 1939, remained unpublished for a long span of time because of unforseeable circumstances led by the break out of the World War II when I was compelled to leave Holland suddenly, leaving behind all my belongings including the typed copy of the manuscript of the thesis in the custody of a friend of mine in Amsterdam. As a sequel to the war my friend's home was bombed and all my books and valuable photographs that I had collected on Borobudur were destroyed. Thence, my studies at the Universities of Leiden and Cambridge being complete I returned home. It was my good fortune that I received a letter from Rai Bahadur K.N. Dikshit the then Director General of the Archaeological Survey of India, calling me to join Ahichhatra excavations. This offer had been made through Prof. J.Ph. Vogel's strong recommondation as he had always wanted me to work for the glory of India's cultural heritage. This was indeed, a great opportunity for me, but destiny planned for me the other way. I had decided to consecrete my life for the cause of child education and the service of divinity in Man. My inability to join the Archaeological Survey of India surprised Shri Dikshit who tried to persuade me to work in the Survey keeping my old promise to my Guru Prof. Vogel. But my firmness prevailed on his advice and I

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followed my inclination to develop the concept of child education which I had nurtured while I had been in close touch with Poet Tagore at the Vishwa Bharati. In 1941, I founded the Manava Bharati Institution and got myself engaged in developing it with my heart and soul. This was another reason that caused the delay in publishing this book.

At the time the book is going to see the light, it is my pious duty to record my sincerest gratitude to my revered Guru Prof. Vogel without whose loving encouragement and guidance it would not have been possible for me to carry my researches on the iconographical study of Sūrya, since no regular study on this important aspect of Brāhamaṇical iconography had been available then. This work has the honour to be first of its kind on the subject.

I am under deep obligation to late Sri Bhagirath Kanodia for his unmitigated munificence to bear all my sea-travel expenses to Netherlands and U.K. to accomplish my research objectives.

When I joined the Kern Institute of Leiden, I was told that it would be necessary for me to pass Litt. Dra. examination of the Leiden University before I start my researches for D.Litt. I discussed with Prof. Vogel and he suggested that I should offer for my study Kavi language - a Court language of the rulers in ancient Indonesia and take up study on Borobudur. It was my rare fortune that I had the honour and opportunity to learn the language under Prof. N.J. Krom who was the only living authority on the language. I took the study on Borobudur under Col. Th.van Erp. the Savant and great engineer, responsible for restoration of the great stupa of Borobudur, a wonder of human genius. Col. Van Erp placed at my disposal

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thousands of photographs that he had taken at Borobudur showing minutest details from all directions of the Stupa. The Colonel guided me and explained archaeological, mythological and architectural excellences of the Stupa. My prepetual reverence is due to them.

I am very proud to record here that this book could not have been published if my grandson Dr B.R. Mani, Superintending Archaeologist, Archaeological Survey of India, Delhi Circle, had not persuaded me to get the manuscript of this book from Leiden University and had not taken all care for its publication including the physical format and preparing its index. My blessings are ever with him.

I am greatly indebted to the Director General, Archaeological Survey of India and his colleagues for kindly supplying the photographs of the Indian Sun-God.

I am highly grateful to the present Vice Chancellor and the Registrar of the University of Leiden and the Director of Kern Institute, Leiden, Holland who so very kindly supplied the manuscript of this thesis.

I very much appreciate those Scholars who have consulted my work, even in the manuscript form, and have their courtesy expressed. I am also grateful to Shri R.B. Chhettri for jacket design and to Shri K.L. Joshi of Parimal Publications, Delhi who has published this book in such a short time and in such beautiful shape.

Manava Bharati,
Mussoorie (India)

June 20, 1989. Durga Prasad Pandey

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ABBREVIATIONS

Adh./adhy.	Adhyāya (chapter).
Ait.Br.	Aitareya Brāhmaṇa.
A.M.I.	Ancient Monuments of India.
An. Bibl. I.A.	Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology. Leiden, Kern Institute.
A.P.R., N.C.	Annual Progress Report, Northern Circle.
A.R.A.S.E.C.	Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey, Eastern Circle.
A.S.I.A.R.	Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report.
A.V.	Atharva Veda.
Bh.Pu.	Bhaviṣya Purāṇa.
Brah.Pu.	Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa.
C.H.I.	Cambridge History of India.
Ch.Up.	Chāndogya Upaniṣad.
C.T.I.	Cave Temples of India.
H.I.I.A.	History of Indian and Indonesian Art.
H.O.	History of Orissa.
I.H.Q.	Indian Historical Quarterly.
In.Ph.	Indian Philosophy.

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J.A.S.B.	Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
J.B.O.R.S.	Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.
J.G.I.S.	Journal of the Greater India Society.
J.R.A.S.	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
J.U.P.H.S.	Journal of the United Province Historical Society.
Mats.Pu.	Matsya Purāṇa.
Mbb./Mahābh.	Mahābhārata.
M.M.	Mathura Museum.
Mṛcch.	Mṛcchakaṭika.
Nir.	Nirukta.
R.	Rāmāyaṇa.
R.V.	Ṛg Veda.
Śat.Br.	Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa.
S.B.E.	Sacred Books of the East.
Sūr.Śat.	Sūrya śataka.
Tait.Br.	Taittarīya Brāhmaṇa.
Vaj.Sam.	Vājasaneyī Saṁhitā.
Yaj.Ved.	Yajurveda.
V.R.S.A.R.	(Museum of) Varendra Research Society (Rajshahi), Annual Report.

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1

SŪRYA IN VEDIC AND LATER RELIGION

The seers who made the earliest Vedic hymns had a simple and unselfconscious delight in nature. They were poets by temperament; they saw the things of nature with such intensity of feeling, such force of imagination, that the things themselves took on souls.

Nature was a living presence to them, with whom they held communion. They knew what it was to be lost in the wonder of dawn and sunrise, these mysterious processes through which the soul and nature meet. The glorious phases of nature became the windows of heaven, through which divine powers look down upon the godless earth. The moon and the stars, the sea and the sky, the dawn and the nightfall were held to be divine. This worship of nature in itself is the earliest form of the Vedic religion.

Of all natural phenomena, the sun is the most impressive and dominant expression of grandeur. Moreover, since with its rising, the whole living world awakes to life, and with

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its setting, returns to the inactivity of sleep, the seeming death, primitive man was not only deeply moved by the sun's splendour, but regarded it as the one source of life and energy.

It is very hard for us to realize the intense emotion, with which the first dwellers on the earth looked upon the sun, or to understand fully what they meant by a morning prayer, or a morning sacrifice. But think of man at the very dawn of time. For the moment, try to forget having read the fascinating pages of Charles Darwin; forget what man is supposed to have been before he became man. Forget it, because here we are not concerned with whether his bodily form and frame originated once for all in the mind of the Creator, or developed gradually in the course of creation itself, which, from the first monad or protoplasm to the last of the primates or man, is not, perhaps, to be looked upon as altogether causeless, meaningless, and purposeless. Consider earliest man as man - (and man means that he is endowed with the power of reflection) ; and then think of the sun, opening his eyes from sleep, and his mind from slumber; slowly rising into heaven, and then descending and plunging its fiery glory into the dark abyss of the heaving, hissing ocean. Was not all this the first wonder, the very beginning of all reflection, all thought, all philosophy?

In the hymns of the Vedas, the poet still wonders whether the sun will rise again, and call him back to new life, stretching out his golden arms to bless the world and rescue it from the terrors of dark night. And when the rays of the morning sun rouse him, he exclaims, "Arise, our life, our spirit has come back! The darkness is gone, the light approaches!"

Here is the beginning of philosophy and religion. The religion of undeveloped man, the world over, has been a kind

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of anthropomorphism. "In moments of deep religious feeling, when man is delivered from some imminent peril, or realises his utter dependence on the mighty forces of nature, he feels the reality of the presence of God. He hears the voice of God in the tempest and sees His hand in the stilling of the wave. As late as the period of the Stoics we meet with similar conceptions: "The Sun, Moon, and Stars and Law and Men who have turned into Gods."[1] It is a good thing that the Vedic Aryans had faith in the reality of an unseen world. They had no doubt about it. Gods are. Naturalism and anthropomorphism appear to be the first stages of the Vedic religion.[2]

Sun-worship was almost universal in ancient times. But in Vedic India we find the sun-god of the primitive age transformed and sublimated. Sūrya, or the sun as the orb that is seen in the sky, was not only the Vedic deity, as is the opinion of Sir R.G. Bhandarkar,[3] but he is also imagined as a god of light. He supports the world in the form of Viṣṇu,[4] and, as Prajāpati, he is the Lord of all creatures, the supporter of the sky and the world, and is entreated to hasten to his worshippers with the same eagerness as cattle to a village, as warriors to their horses, as a cow to give milk to her calf, and as husband to his wife.[5] He is the Preserver and Soul of all things stationary as well as moving,[6] and he is the Eye and the Soul of all embodied creatures.[7]

"Ten entire hymns of the RgVeda", says Prof. Macdonell, "may be said to be devoted to the celebration of Sūrya specifically... Since his name designates the orb of the sun as well, Sūrya is the most concrete of all the solar deities, his connexion with the luminary never being lost sight of.[8]

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In Vedic literature Sūrya is called the son of Dyaus or Aditī.[9] His function as a healer of diseases, for which he is famous in later literature, is also established very early. He is invoked to drive away sickness, diseases, and evil dreams.[10] His path is prepared by the Ādityas,[11] Mitra, Aryaman, and Varuṇa[12], and Pūṣan, with his golden ṣhips, acts as his messenger, sailing the aerial ocean.[13] He has a wheeled car, which is drawn by one steed, called *Etasa*, or by an indefinite number of steeds, or by seven fleet and ruddy horses or mares.[14] He follows his wife Uṣas, the Dawn, as a young man follows a maiden. Though in one passage of the ṚgVeda, Sūrya is said to be shining from the lap of the dawn,[15] which is there regarded as his mother, Dawn's relationship to Sūrya as his wife or beloved is far more prominent.[16]

Uṣas is not, however, the only wife of Sūrya. It is said that as Vivasvat, from whom he can hardly be distinguished in the ṚgVeda, and whose name in the later literature[17] is synonymous with that of Sūrya, he is the husband of Saraṇyū, the daughter of the divine artificer Tvaṣṭṛ.[18] This Saraṇyū bore the twins, Yama and Yamī to him, and then substituted for herself another woman who looked like her, and herself fled in the form of a mare. Vivasvat, in like manner, assumed the shape of a horse, and followed her. From their intercourse sprang the two Aśvins; while Manu was the offspring of Saraṇyū's double Savarṇā. The latter is called Chāyā in later literature, and her son Sāvarṇi Manu.[19] The celestial nymph Urvaśī is also regarded as a wife of Sūrya.[20]

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At first it was thought that the celestial god, i.e. Āditya, the sun, had twelve aspects, according to the twelve months of the year,[21] or, as some hold, according to the different aspects of nature.[22] In the Ṛgveda, however we meet with the names of six or seven Ādityas only.[24] Of these the most important are Mitra, Varuṇa, Bhaga, Savitṛ, Viṣṇu, and Indra. Each of these deities, no doubt, has his own peculiar characteristics, but no Saṁskṛt scholar can doubt that Savitṛ, Sūrya, Mitra, Varuṇa, etc. and even Prajāpati all represent the light of the sun, and that they all have a common origin.[25] Among the Ādityas, Mitra and Varuṇa bear the same designation. The great powers presiding over the day and night are supposed by the ancient commentators to be personified in Mitra and Varuṇa.

"Sūrya and Savitṛ", says Prof. Muir, "are exact personifications of the sun. It is under these two different appellations that the sun is chiefly celebrated in the Ṛgveda, and although it may be difficult to see why the one word should be used rather than the other in any particular context, the choice of names may perhaps depend upon some difference in the way in which the sun is conceived or in the functions which he is regarded as fulfilling."[26]

In the following lines an attempt will be made to throw light on this interesting question. First of all we must examine the original meaning of the names, Sūrya and Savitṛ.[27] Names are invented to express some particular feeling behind them. Sūrya and Savitṛ, the two names of the sun-god, express his

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two different functions. According to Yāska, (Savitṛ is *Sarvasya prasavita,* [28] the Stimulator of everything, and represents the rising and setting sun; while Sūrya is the Preserver and the Soul of the universe.[29] Invigorated by him men pursue their ends and perform their work.[30] He is far seeing, all seeing, beholds all creatures and the good and bad deeds of mortals.[31]

Explaining the passage *"uto sūryasya raśmibhih samucyasi",* [32] Savitṛ combines with the rays of Sūrya', Sāyaṇa remarks that before his rising, the sun is called Savitṛ; and from the time of his rising until his setting, Sūrya : *udyat pūrvabhavi savitā udayāstamaya vartti sūrya iti.* Yāska also gives a similar interpretation in his Nirukta, XII.12 : *tasya kālo yadā dyaur apahatatamaska akīrṇaraśmir bhavati.* The time of Savitṛ's appearance is when darkness has been banished, and the rays of light are diffused over the sky". But there are some hymns where Savitṛ is spoken of also as sending (to) sleep,[33] and therefore he may be connected with evening as well as morning. In one hymn he is extolled as the setting sun,[34] and there are indications that most of the hymns addressed to him are meant for either a morning or an evening sacrifice.[35]

He is pre-eminently the golden deity, being *hiraṇyākṣa,* golden-eyed,[36] *hiraṇyapāṇi,* golden-handed,[37] and *hiraṇyajihva,* golden tongued.[38] He invests himself with golden or tawny mail,[39] and assumes all forms.[40] He is also *hiraṇyakēśa,* the yellow-haired.[41] Luminous in his aspect, he ascends a golden car, with a golden pole, drawn by two radiant, brown, white-footed horses; and beholding all creatures, he pursues an

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ascending and descending path.[42] Surrounded by a golden lustre,[43] he lights up the atmosphere and all the regions of the earth.[44] His robust and golden arms, which he stretches out to bless and invigorate all creatures, reach to the utmost ends of heaven. He brings all two-footed and four-footed beings to rest; and he awakens them.[45] He unyokes his steeds, and brings the wanderer to rest; at his command, night comes; the weaver rolls up her web; and the craftsman lays down his unfinished work.[46]

These epithets of Savitṛ support the view of Yāska and Sāyaṇa. The golden nature of this god is represented by the golden rays of the rising and setting sun; and the morning and evening practice of the Gāyatrīmantra, a hymn addressed to Sūrya in the form of Savitṛ, lends weight to this opinion. Āśvalāyana directs that while worshipping the dawn, a man should face the east and repeat the Gāyatrī-mantra till the whole disk of the sun has risen; and in the evening, with his face towards the west, he should repeat it till the whole disk of the sun has gone down and the stars have begun to appear.[47]

These facts point to the conclusion "that Savitṛ was originally an epithet of Indian origin, applied to the sun as the great stimulator of life and motion in the world, representing the most important movement which dominates all others in the universe; but that, as differentiated from Sūrya, he is a more abstract deity. He is in the eyes of the Vedic poets the divine power of the sun personified, while Sūrya is the more concrete deity, in the conception of whom the outward form of

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the sun-body is never absent, owing to the identity of his name with that of the orb."[48]

Now, before we proceed further in our investigation of the later development of solar mythology, in the narrower sense of the word, it is desirable to know something about the various circumstances which moulded, transformed and modified it. It is somewhat difficult to coordinate the many-sided and manifold mythology of Brahmanical India; but a minute and critical study of the religious literature of the age throws much light on the subject. The relevant literature is so mingled that it is impossible to impose dividing lines with exactitude; but for the present we will classify it in three periods : The early Vedic period; the later Vedic period, from the Atharva-Veda until the Upaniṣadic age; and the Epic or Paurāṇic period.

"The Vedic Aryans entered India in the pride of strength and joy of conquest. They loved life in its fullness. They therefore showed no great interest in the future of the soul. Life to them was bright and joyous, free from all the vexations of a fretful spirit. They were not enamoured of death. They wished for themselves and their posterity a life of hundred autumns. They had no special doctrines about life after death, though some vague conceptions about heaven and hell could not be avoided by reflective minds. Rebirth is still at a distance. The Vedic Aryans were convinced that death was not the end of things. After night, the day; after death, life. Beings who once had been, could never cease to be. They must exist some where, perhaps in the realm of the setting sun where Yama rules. The imagination of man, with his shuddering fear of death, had not yet made Yama into a terrible lord of vengeance. Yama and Yamī are the first mortals who entered the other world to lord

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over it. The departed souls dwell in heaven revelling with Yama. They there live an existence like ours. The joys of heaven are those of earth perfected and heightened."[49] In this tranquility of mind, it was the physical phenomena, as we have seen, which first attracted their attention and were personified by their simple and poetic imagination. Yet many of these personified deities are not even fully humanised, and easily lapse back into their form as powers of nature. Sūrya, for example, in one place, is completely attributed with human form, feelings and family, but in another, he is only a dispeller of darkness, and the orb as seen in the sky. In short, the Ṛg-Vedic religion is mainly confined to naturalistic polytheism, and to a some extent, monotheism and monism.[50]

But, as soon as the Vedic Aryans advanced into India, and came into contact with uncivilised tribes, who where wild and barbarous, worshipping snakes and serpents, stocks and stones, as was inevitable, a great change worked upon them. "No society can hope to continue in a state of progressive civilisation in the midst of uncivilised and half-civilised tribes, if it does not meet and overcome the new situation by either completely conquering them or imparting to them elements of its own culture. The alternatives before us are either to destroy the barbarian neighbours or absorb them, thus raising them to a higher level, or allow ourselves to be overwhelmed and swamped by them. The first course was impossible on account of the paucity of numbers. The pride of race and culture worked against the third. The second was the only alternative left open, and it was adopted."[51] In consequence : "the introduction of strange gods; recognition of a hell of torture; instead of many divinities, the one, that represents all the gods and nature as

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well; incantations for evil purposes, and charms for a worthy purpose; formulae of malediction to be directed against those whom I hate me; magical verse to obtain children, to prolong life, to dispel evil magic, to guard against poison and other ills; the paralysing extreme of ritualistic reverence indicated by the exaltation to godhead of the 'remnant' of the sacrifice; hymns to snakes, to diseases, to sleep, time, and stars; curses on the 'priest plague'[52] such aboriginal elements made their appearance and changed the structure of the old religion and mythology. Arrested personifications of the phenomenal deities of the Ṛgveda became more distinct and certain." The divinities of the Atharva are regarded rather with a kind of cringing fear, as powers whose wrath is to be deprecated and whose favour cultivated; a whole host of imps and hobgoblins are introduced."[53] In the main, the religion of the Atharva appears to have been an intermediate step in the transition from the Vedic to the later phase of Hinduism.

The superstitions and dependence on superhuman power of this period is marked by important changes in the evolution religion. As man is occupied in making gods out of his own heart, many new divinities, of a more imposing and promising nature than any Vedic deity of the early Vedic period, appear Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Śiva, the Hindu trinity, the lords of creation, protection and destruction, grew in importance. Man's weakness and feebleness gave rise to the necessity for the incarnation of Viṣṇu, the lord of protection. Sacrifices became all in all in the religion. In fact, this was inevitable. For the depth of man's affection for God results in the surrender of property and possessions to Him. Even the Āryans of the early Ṛgvedic period loved offering sacrifices; but to them, they

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were simply meant to express their gratitude and innermost feelings of happiness, with the poetic fire and emotion of the Vedic hymns; but here prayer comes to mean the muttering of mantras or the utterance of sacred formula, and no more. The simple, devotional religion of the Vedas was overpowered by a rigid, soul-deadening, commercialist creed founded on a basis of contract. "In fairness to the religion of the Brāhmaṇas, it must be said, however, that we find frequent traces in them of high moral sense and exalted sentiment. The conception of man's duty first arises here. Man is said to owe some debts or duties to gods, men and animals.[54] In conclusion, we may state that the religion of the Yajurveda until that of the Brāhmaṇas was purely formal, mainly based on sacrificial ceremonies, and heavily loaded with subtle symbolism.

This stream of religious pluralism was, however, soon flooded by the monotheistic teaching of the Upaniṣads. Revolt against convention, and thirst for truth, those main impulses of the human mind, prepared the soil for its growth. There was, in fact, a reaction; for the spirit of longing and investigation in the human heart was not satisfied by the multiplication of gods, and by increasing dependence on priestcraft. Even from the early dawn of the Vedas, we find doubt beginning to puzzle the minds of the poets : *"Kasmai devāya haviśā vidhema,* :[57] to what god shall we offer our oblation? As with limited might and means man cannot satisfy each and everyone, he should seek one whose adoration is adoration to all, *"Yasmin hi pūjite deve sarve bhavanti pūjitāḥ"*, and who is supreme, almighty, and omnipresent among those gods who fight and feast, drink and dance, eat and rejoice." This hankering after truth strengthened the realization : *"ekamevādvitīyam, neha*

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nānā'sti kincana", [58] "the Supreme is one, matchless, there is nothing else whatsoever;" and the monotheism and monism of the Vedas, which had at first been checked by elements in the aboriginal worship, gradually gained ground, and obtained supremacy. In fact the Upaniṣads are only a revival, or rather realization, of something found already in the Vedic hymns. There we find "an advance of the Saṁhitā mythology, Brāhmaṇas hair-splitting and Āraṇykas theology."[59]

But the thin abstraction of the Upaniṣads was not capable of satisfying the emotional requirements of the masses. As man is a product of love and desire, his emotions could be satisfied only by the concrete conception of an individual full of bliss and beauty, heart and health. One cannot love the shadow of one's own mind, or hold communion or fellowship with it. Devotion, the harmonizing emotion of unselfish love and respect in man, is possible only to the Supreme when He is a personal god with distinct personality. The Upāsanā theory of the Upaniṣads and the devotional form of the Bhāgavatas thus prepared the ground for the growth of the Bhakti-mārga, which had long been hidden in the mists created by the mixed religion. With its growth, great changes took place in man's conception of divinity and the problems of life. The old Vedic gods lost much of their pristine splendour and anthropomorphism made the presiding deities of nature quite human in dress, talk and action. The formless is given a form, the impersonal is made personal, the omnipresent is fixed to a local habitation, and the eternal is given a temporal setting.

It is true that the religious ideas of the epics and purāṇas are not a mere replica of those prevailing in the Vedic period;

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the great flexibility of Saṁskṛt and the easy unfettered flow of its common heroic metre, greatly facilitated interpolation, alteration, and addition; but many of the legends have their germ in the Vedas, although their scope was continually being enlarged to embrace the later phases of Hinduism. The legends recorded in the epics and purāṇas represent a compilation of ideas, changing with the changes of history from the early dawn of the Vedas.

With this key to our problem, now we may proceed to trace the gradual development of the solar mythology. Hinduism, as we have seen, has witnessed roughly four stages of evolution : the naturalistic polytheism of the Ṛgveda; the ritualistic polytheism of the later Vedas and Brāhmaṇas; the monotheistic ideals of the Upaniṣads; and the theistic devotional religion of the epics and purāṇas.

The early Vedic hymns represent Sūrya as a dispeller of darkness, bestower of gifts, and protector and originator of the Universe; but he is never allowed to lose his luminary character. Savitṛ, though complete in his form and frame, always keeps his origin in view. But with the growth of ritualistic religion, there is a distinct development of Sūrya as the sun-god *per excellence*, either under that name or under that of Āditya, or Savitṛ. Here he is not only personfied along with all the mighty gods,[60] and naturalistic phenomena;[61] he is even a personfication of man,[62] prāṇā,[63] the priests,[64] sacrifices,[65] sacrificial implements,[66] and even the goal to which sacrifice leads, heaven.[67] He protects the gods in his northern course

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(uttarāyaṇa), and in his southern course he guards the *pitaras*, or ancestors.[68] He is personified as *puraścaraṇa*, the malediction,[69] and the lord of death,[70] Yama, and Mṛtyu death itself.[71] It is interesting to note that in the hymns of the Ṛgveda and even in Nirukta,[72] the differentiation of the Ādityas is due to their possession of the different hours of the day from sunrise to sunset; but according to the Brāhmaṇas, there is no real rising or setting of the sun, for it shines always, though it reverses its sides, so that the shining one is now turned to, and now from, the earth, causing the distinction between day and night.

There is not much comment to make upon the solar mythology in the Upaniṣads. In this *dictatorial of the Supreme*, Sūrya, however, is more fortunate than his other mighty brethren of early mythology. Whereas others have lost their splendour and royalty and seek shelter as refugees, unimportant and unnoticed, he represents the Supreme. Probably his comprehensive nature in the Brāhmaṇas was the cause of his stability. In Chāndogya Upaniṣad, Satyayajña Pauliṣi meditates on the sun as the *self*,[73] and the same Upanisad bears evidence of the idea that "That golden person who is seen within the sun — is the lord of all the worlds." The third chapter of the Upaniṣad is a meditation upon the rays of the sun.[74] This same character is ascribed to Sūrya even in the later Upaniṣads. In the Sūryanārāyaṇa Upaniṣad, a part of the Atharva Śiras Upaniṣad, appears a prayer; "the sun is the soul of the world; from the sun existence and nonexistence are derived; from sacrifice to the sun comes rain, the cause of

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sustainance. Praise, therefore, be to thee, O Āditya! who art manifestly Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Rudra, and all the gods; who art manifestly the Ṛig, the Yajur, the Sāma, and the Atharvan Vedas, and all sacred verse. From the sun is derived life, the earth, the sky, and space; and that sun, which illumines the universe, is the heart, the mind, the understanding, the intellect, consciousness, the vital breath, the senses, and their organs, etc."[75]

In the epic and Paurāṇic mythology, the sun-god represents the cultural changes of the Hindus, wrought by hundreds of generations, each of which added something of its own. These additions are clear enough; but require somewhat detailed attention. The naturalistic character of Sūrya, the origin of the sun myth in the early Vedic hymns, is never lost sight of from the beginning to the end; and his supremacy in the upaniṣadic period is deeply rooted. The sun-god *per excellence* of the later Vedas and Brāhmaṇas retains his dignity, with much apparent humanity and sincerity.

"Epic mythology", says Prof. Hopkins, "however, is fairly consistent. There is no great discrepāncy between the character of any one god in Mahābhārata and that of the same god in Rāmāyaṇa. Nor is the character of gods very different in different parts of Mhb. save for the sectarion tendency to invert the positions of the three highest gods in favour of the sect. There are of course differences, but not such as to imply that we are dealing with totally diverse conceptions or traditions. In both the epics, the older gods are reduced in estate, in so far as they represent personifications of nature.

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We will complete this discussion with the story of Sūrya's family, related in the Epics and Purāṇas. We have already seen that Sūrya originally had three wives : Uṣas, Saraṇyū, and Chāyā, the earthly double of Saraṇyū. The Epics add three new wives, Kṣubhā, Maitrī, and Suvarcalā,[76] Kṣubhā is called Nikṣubhā in the Bhaviṣya Purāṇa.[77] According to the mythology given in the Purāṇa, the word Nikṣubhā is formed from the root *Su*, to bring forth. Nikṣubhā is described as the Earth, because she creates mortals, disembodied spirits, and the gods, supporting them with food, herbs, wine and nector : *Nikṣubhā sūyate yasmād annauṣadhisudhāmṛtaiḥ, martyān pitṛmśca devānśca tena Bhū Nikṣubhā smṛtā.* [78]

Likewise, Maitrī is also another name for the Earth; and so both the new names added by the Epics are ;but synonymous to the Earth. Chāya, the earthly double of Saraṇyū, (sureṇū in the Bh. Pu.), is, according to the above mentioned Purāṇa, no other than Nikṣubhā or the Earth; *tasyāstu yā tanucchāyā Nikṣubhā sā Mahīmayi.* [79]

The same Purāṇa informs us that Sūrya has two wives,[80] i.e. Rājñī and Nikṣubhā. Rājñī is one of the alternative names for Sureṇū, daughter of Viśvakarman, or Tvaṣṭṛ : *devācāryasya tasyeyam duhitā Viśvakarmaṇaḥ Sureṇuriti vikhyātā triṣu lokeṣu bhāmini / Rājñī, Samjñā* [81] *ca Dyau, Tvaṣṭṛ, Prabhā saiva bibhātyate.* [82]

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Bearing this in mind, we immediately appreciate that the Vedic pair Dyāvā-Pṛthivī, (the Earth and Firmament), were conceived as the two wives of the sun-god.

Suvarcalā of the Epics, undoubtedly represents the Uṣas of the early mythology; etymologically, the word suggests the functions of Uṣas. Uṣas, Dyau, and Pṛthivī, i.e. the Dawn, the Firmament, and the Earth, are therefore, the principal wives of the sun-god. Uṣas, who is so important a goddess in the Ṛgveda, is hardly mentioned in the Purāṇas and Śilpaśāstras, probably because she is childless, since she is said to retain her youth perpetually. On rare occasion, however, she is added as a co-wife of Sandhyā. Dyau has several names, as Sureṇū, Rājñī, Saṁjñā, Tvaṣṭṛ, Prabhā, and Suvarcalā. etc. Likewise Pṛthivī is also mentioned with several names, as Nikṣubhā, Chāyā, Savarṇā, etc.

It is interesting to mention that in most of the mediaeval sun images, a miniature figure of Uṣas is represented between the god and his charioteer Aruṇa, in the exact position assigned to her in the Ṛgveda. But the appearance of female archers, furnished with bow and arrows, standing beside the god, and said to represent Uṣas and Pratyūṣas, offers some slight difficulty. We would suggest that they merely represent morning and evening twilight, and that the miniature figure, between Sūrya and Aruṇa, stands for the goddess herself.

We will now pass on to the story related in the Purāṇas.[83] Sūrya married Rājñī, the daugher of Viśvakarman,[84] who bore

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him three children, Manu (Vivasvata), Yama, and the goddess Yamī (or the Yamunā river). Unable to endure the splendour of her Lord, Rājñī substituted for herself another female of similar appearance, called Chāyā, and fled in the form of a mare to Uttarakuru, in order to perform devotional exercises. The sun, supposing Chāyā to be his wife Rājñī, begot by her three other children, Śanaiścara (Saturn), another Manu (Sāvarṇī), and a daugher Tapatī (the Tapatī river).

Chāyā upon one occasion, having fallen out with Yama, the son of Rājñī, cursed him, and thereby revealed to Yama and to the sun that she was not Rājñī, his real mother. When told by Chāyā that Rājñī had gone to the wilderness, the sun, with his inner eye, beheld her in the form of a mare, performing religious rites in the region of Uttarakuru. Changing himself into a horse, he rejoined his wife, and begot three other children, the two Aśvins and Revanta, and then brought Rājñī back to his own dwelling. He asked Viśvakarman to diminish his intensity, and the latter placed the luminary on his lathe to grind off some of his effulgence. In this manner his brilliance was reduced to an eighth, for the god did not allow him to do it further. From the divine remnants, the Artist constructed the disc of Viṣṇu, the trident of Śiva, the weapon of Kubera, the god of wealth, the lance of Kārttikeya. and the weapons of the other gods.[85]

Before we conclude this chapter, attention must be drawn to the importance of Mithraism, from which the sun-worship in India received a new impetus. Many attempts have been made to identify the Indian and Iranian gods with one another; whatever their success, there can be no doubt that

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the Vedic Mitra and Mithra of the Zenda Avesta have much in common, and probably were originally the same deity.

Dr. F. Windischmann, in his Dissertation on the Parsi Mithra,[86] observes that Mitra was known, and common to the old Āryan race before the separation of its Iranian from its Indian branch, though his character was subsequently modified by Zoroastrian ideas.

In the Vedas, Mitra occurs as the son of Aditī and stands almost always inseparably associated with Varuṇa. According to the commentators of the Vedic hymns, Mitra represents the day, and Varuṇa the night. Sāyaṇa (on R.V. I,89,3) says, "Mitra is the god who presides over the day", and the commentator of the Taittirīya Saṁhitā, (I,8,16,1.),[87] affirms that the "word Mitra denotes the sun, *Mitra śabdasya Sūryavācitvāt;* while the word 'Varuṇa, signifies one who envelopes like darkness' : *Varuṇa śabdasya andhakāravad āvaraka vācitvāt.* The same Saṁhitā, (VI,4,8.), informs us that 'This world had neither day nor night, but was (in that respect) undistinguished. The gods said to Mitra and Varuṇa 'Make a separation... Mitra produced the day and Varuṇa the night.[88]

In the Avesta the name of Varuṇa does not appear; but his place as the twin companion of Mitra is taken by no less a deity than Ahura (Mazda) himself. In the Mihir Yast, (XXVIII, 113), the Seer says, "May Mithra and Ahura, the high gods, come to us for help; and again, (XXXV, 145), "We sacrifice unto Mithra and Ahura, the two great, imperishable, holy gods."

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In Zenda, Mithra is represented as the lord of wide pastures with ten thousand eyes. Four heavenly steeds, white and shining, carry him forward, and as he represents light of the morning, he is supposed to see and know everything, and is called the destroyer of darkness.[89]

Although Mithra has a secondary place in the Avesta, there can be no doubt that Mithra-cult was prevalent in Central Asia long before the promulgation of Mazadaism. In his translation of the Gatha portion in the Zenda Avesta, Mr. Mill writes, "As Mitra worship undoubtedly existed previously to the Gothic period and fell into neglect at the Gothic period, it might be said that the greatly later inscriptions represent Mazda-worship as it existed among the ancestors of Zarathustrians in the pre-Gothic age or even in Vedic age."[90]

The priestly family, connected with Mithra-cult from hoary antiquity, was called Magi of Magas.[91] The Magi were one of the six tribes among which the population of Media was divided. They made a temporarily successful bid for political power when Gaumata, the Magus, seized the throne in the character of Bardiya (Smerdis), the murdered brother of Cambyses. The Aryan aristocracy regained its power under the leadership of the great Darius, and an annual festival, the Magophonia, celebrated the downfall of the priests who had tried to be kings. After a generation or two we find the Magi firmly established as a sacred cast.[92]

The growth of Mazadaism caused a dispute between followers of the Mithra-cult and fire-worshippers. Consequently, the former took refuge in India, and established themselves as Śākadvīpī Brāhmaṇas.[93] From the Bhaviṣya Purāṇa we

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know that Zarathustra never admitted the superiority of the sun, and used to interpret the Vedas in a perverted way, which led to a quarrel between him and the Magas, who worshipped the sun-god. Be that as it may, from the literary sources it is quite clear that Śākadvīpī Brāhmaṇas of India are descendants of the Magas.

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In the Sāma-vijaya,[94] a strenuous effort is made to establish the superiority of the Magas among other Brāhmaṇas, though the very effort shows that these Brāhmaṇas were foreigners, and were not at the time regarded with the same esteem as the Brāhmaṇas of the country. In one verse of the Sāmva-vijaya it is asked, 'Where do they come from and for what reason, how did they manage to establish themselves and how did they obtain honour from high persons : *katham eṣām hi vasatiḥ katham atra samāgamaḥ, supratiṣṭhāḥ katham yātāḥ śrimadbhiḥ pūjitāḥ katham.*[30] In several other verses, it is suggested that they obtained domination by instilling fear of pubishment in the minds of those who did not acknowledge their power.[95]

From the Bhaviṣya, Vāraha and Sāmva Purāṇas we learn that Sāmva, the son of Kṛṣṇa, was attacked with leprosy,[96] and could get rid of his loathsome disease by worshipping Mitra, the sun-god. According to the advice of Nārada, he sent Garuḍa to fetch some Maga Brāhmaṇas from the Śākadvīpa, in order to establish the worship of the god.

Geographical identification of the Śākadvīpa is yet a matter of controversy, but for present purposes, however, it is not necessary to go into detail. A description of this island is

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found in the Viṣṇu Purāṇa, (ch. iv.), in the Uttarkhaṇḍa of the Padma Purāṇa, and in the Brahma Vaivarta Purāṇa. In the Kūrma Purāṇa, it is mentioned as Śveta-dvīpa, the white island.

From the Bhaviṣya Purāṇa, we know that Śākadvīpī Brāhamṇas were at first known as Magas, because of their devotion to the sun-god; *makāro bhagavān devo bhāskarah parikīrtitaḥ makāradhyānayogācca Magā hyate prakīrtitāḥ.* But afterwards they were divided into three classes, according to their different modes of worship and religious faiths. They were subsequently known as Magas, Somakas, and Bhojakas. Those who trace their origin from fire were called Magas, and those who were descendants of Soma (the moon-god), were known as Somakas of Dvijas,[97] while those who worshipped the sun-god and professed their genealogy from the sun, were designated as Bhojakas; *Bhojakāścādityajātyā divyās te parikīrtitāḥ.* Bh. Pu. adh. 139.

There is a difference of opinion about the date of the migration of the Maga Brāhmaṇas. We are informed from the Purāṇas that Magis migrated to India on account of a quarrel with the followers of Zarathustra. If we may rely on the opinion of Berosus, the distinguished historian of Babylon, the dynasty of Zarathustra reigned between 2200 and 2000 B.C., and the Spitma Zarathustra, the founder of Mazadaism, lived before that time,[98] but, on the other hand, if we accept the views of the great Indian astronomer, Vārāhamihira, and of Kalhaṇa, the famous author of the Rājataraṅgiṇī, that Kauravas and

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Pāṇḍavas flourished at the time when 653 years of the Kaliyuga had passed away, (i.e., about 4357 years ago), we see that Sāmva brought Maga Brāhmaṇas to India at the time when Zarathustra was flourishing.[99] In any case, we are sure that Magas were established in India, long before the time of Buddha, as in the well-known Pāli-work, Baṁbhajāla Sutta, we find Lord Buddha speaking in disparaging terms of this class of Brāhmaṇas.

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2

THE REPRESENTATION OF SŪRYA ACCORDING TO THE PURĀṆAS AND ICONOGRAPHICAL TEXTS

Hindu iconography is mainly based on the Paurāṇic descriptions, the directions laid down in the Āgamas, Śilpaśāstras, and the other iconographical texts, and in Dhyānas or Vandanas in the astronomical works and Tāntrik literature; though owing to different local conceptions these sources do not all agree in details. The cause of the differences shown by Mr. Gopinatha Rao[1] deserves notice. According to this author, "Local differences in sculpture (are) due to the misunderstanding of the descriptive texts."[2] He believes that "It cannot be seen that there has been in any part of India any new canon of art than the rules prescribed in the Āgamas and Tantras."[3] But if we be to agree with Mr. Rao the question arises, what canon of art had been the basic ground of those sculptures which were carved before the ninth century? It cannot be the Āgamas and the Tantras, as according to Mr.

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Rao "the age of the Āgamas and Tantras is mainly between the ninth and twelfth century of the Christian era." We agree with him that "The rules for making the images must have indeed been formulated at a much earlier time, and must have long remained unwritten,"[4] but there is no sufficient reason to assume that those unwritten rules were the same as formulated in the Āgamas and Tantras. Sculptures carved according to the South Indian Āgamic rules are found mainly in that part of the country or in regions closely connected with Southern India. Northern India sculptures seem to follow quite different traditions. Besides the Paurāṇic descriptions there must have been other directive art-canons before the Āgamic rules came into use. The Mānasāra, which is earlier than the Bṛhat Saṁhitā (550 A.D.), gives a list of thirty-two authorities.[5] Among the Purāṇas, the Matsya Purāṇa, the Agni Purāṇa, and, besides, the Viśvakarmaprakāśa, and the Bṛhat Saṁhitā seem to represent the northern tradition of their times. The Viṣṇudharmottara is a work of later date, and seems to be much influenced by the south Indian art-canons.

The Bhaviṣya Purāṇa specially deals with sun- worship and supplies vast legendary and iconographic materials of the sun-god independent of time and place. The materials compiled in this Purāṇa show that the author (rather the authors) aimed at collecting all the available information regarding solar-worship. About its antiquity we cannot agree with the bold conjecture of Mr. Pargiter,[6] as the Purāṇa contains a vivid description of Koṇārk and other Tīrthas of later date. But

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there is no doubt that a considerable portion of the Purāṇa shows signs of greater antiquity, though as its subject matter deals with later events, it could not escape alterations and additions.

Before we proceed further with the iconographical details of the sun-god, it is to be said that all the descriptions at our disposal fit only mediaeval sun images; none of them is applicable to earlier ones. No text, except one which is of a later date, makes any reference to the four horses of Sūrya or describes the characteristics seen in the supposed Sūrya of the Bhaja Cave. The iconographical texts known to us, enable us to identify three varieties of the sun image of southern India and about thirteen, found in the northern part of the country. But if we do not lay too much stress on minute details they can be classified in three groups; namely South Indian, (a group strictly adhering to the Āgamic tradition), East Indian (mainly in Bihar and Bengal), and the third group in the remaining part of the country.

"The South Indian figures of Sūrya", says Mr. Rao, "have, as a rule, their hands lifted up as high as the shoulders, and are made to hold lotus flowers which are only half blossomed; the images have invariably the *udarabandha*, and their legs and feet are always left bare; (they) are as often with the seven horses and their driver Aruṇa as not; those which belong to the extreme south of South India, to such part as Tamil districts of the Madras Presidency, do not possess any attendant deities like Daṇḍa, Piṅgala and the goddesses. The image of the sun-god as found in the Karnāṭadeśa and the South Mahratta country, corresponding roughly to the ancient

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Cālukya and Hoysala kingdoms, have invariably two goddesses sculptured one on each side of Sūrya.[7]

The second group, especially from Bengal, is neatly discussed by Dr. N.K. Bhattasali.

"The images of the sun-god discovered in Bengal are all more or less alike in their essential features, differing only in minor details. A typical example is described below.

"The god stands erect on a lotus pedestal, holding in his two hands two full-blown lotuses which rise just above the shoulders. He is generally represented as smiling, and his head is surrounded hy a halo. His body is covered with armour. His waist is encircled by an ornamental girdle and a rolled scarf passess over his waist cloth. His feet, and a part of the legs, are covered by high boots, a feature not met with in the images of any other deity.

"Directly in front of the god stands a miniature female figure, in front of which is represented the legless Aruṇa, the charioteer of the sun, with a whip in his right hand, and the reins of the horses beneath, in his left. The horses drawing the car of the god are seven in number and the car moves on a single wheel."

"To the right of the sun-god, a lady stands with a flywhisk (sometimes with a lotus) in her right hand, and to her right is figured a pot-bellied bearded man carrying pen and inkstand in his hands. Further to the right, a female figure is represented shooting arrows. To the left of the god are represented three small figures, but the male one has no beard and holds either a staff, or a sword, or a chank-shell (sic. conch-shell?) in one of his hands. All these figures, except the two females shooting

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arrows at the edges, wear boots like the sun-god. Eleven miniature figures, exactly like the sun-god, are sometimes represented near the edges of the slab, generally five on each side of the god and one over his head."

There is much similarity among the mediaeval sun images discovered in Bihar and Bengal; they differ only in details. A characteristic feature of the third group is the addition of the Aśvins to the usual attendants of Sūrya. In the course of the next chapter we will discuss some local types of the Sūrya image. We will now proceed to quote directive texts collected from the ancient Saṁskṛta works and arranged according to the above mentioned groups.

THE SOUTH INDIAN GROUP :

(1) : - Ādityas, the sun-god, according to the Aṁśumadbhedāgama, the Suprabhedāgama, and the Pūrvakāraṇāgama, should have two hands, both holding a lotus, and sit on a seat made of red lotus. His head should be surrounded with a red halo, *raktamaṇḍala*, or a halo of rays, *raśmimaṇḍala*. His person should be adorned with all ornaments and *Karaṇḍamukuṭa*. [9] In the opinion of the Pūrvakāraṇāgama, there should also be the sacred thread, *yajñopavīta* on his person. His garments should be red and he must have a charming figure.[10]

dvibhujāḥ padmahastāśca raktapadmāsane sthitāḥ /

raktamaṇḍalasamyuktāḥ karaṇḍamakuṭānvitāḥ //

raktāmbaradharāssarve sarvābharaṇabhūṣitāḥ /

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channavīrasamāyuktā (?) bhāṣkarā dvādaśā ime //

Aṁśumadbhedāgama, Patala 49.

dvibhujāḥ padmahastāśca raktapadmāsane sthitāḥ //

raśmimaṇḍalasamyuktāssuraktā lokanāyakāḥ /

Suprabhedāgama, Patala 48.

dvibhujāśca dvinetrāśca padmasthāḥ padmahastakāḥ//

raktāmbarasuvarṇāśca prabhāmaṇḍalamaṇḍitāḥ /

upavītasamāyuktāssarvābharaṇabhūṣitāḥ //

Pūrvakāraṇāgama, Patala 13.

The Rūpamaṇḍana states : the figure of Āditya, the sun-god, should be sculptured, provided with all auspicious signs and adorned with all ornaments. It should have only one face and two hands, either of them holding a white lotus. The god should stand in the middle of the orb of rays and be clad in a red garment.[11]

sarvalakṣanasaṁyuktam sarvābharaṇabhūṣitam /

dvibhujam caikavaktraṁ ca śvetapaṅkajadhṛkkaram //

vartulam tejaso bimbam, madhyastham raktavāsasam/

Ādityasya tvidam rūpam kuryāt pāpapraṇāśanam //

Rūpamaṇḍana.

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The second variety of the South Indian sun-images answers the following description.

The image of Āditya should have two arms and hands, each holding a lotus. The body should be beautiful and red in colour; it should be provided with a *karaṇḍa-mukuṭa* and adorned with all ornaments. The halo (*prabhāmaṇḍala)* should be of medium size, the diadem double, the *mukuṭa* (?) The goddesses Uṣas and Pratyuṣas should be made to stand on the left and right of the god. His bright person should stand on a seat of red lotus, placed in the chariot, drawn by seven horses. The lame charioteer, Aruṇa, should be placed in the front.[12]

dvibhujam padmahastam tu raktavarṇam surūpakam /

karaṇḍamakuṭopetam sarvābharaṇabhūṣitam //

makuṭadviguṇam tāram prabhāmaṇḍalamadhyamam /

Uṣāś ca Pratyuṣodevī savyāsavya tu saṁsthite //

Aruṇam cāgrataḥ kṛtvā paṅguvat tat svarūpakam /

saptāśvarathamadhyastham bhāsvaram pāpanāśanam//

raktapadmāsanastham hi āsanam tatra kalpayet /

Suprabhedāgama, Patala 49.

The third variety is rather curious. Not a single example of this kind has yet come to light. According to the Pūrvakāraṇāgama the male form (puruṣākṛti) of Sūrya should

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be placed in a one-wheeled great chariot with seven horses and a charioteer. The left half of the body of the god should be blue in colour and have a female appearance duly adorned with all ornaments. His looks should be slightly curling and surrounded with a halo (prabhāmaṇḍala), or he should have a diadem. *mukuṭa*, and the rest should be in form of a halo. In his two hands lotuses should appear. His body should be covered with a coat of mail (kañcuka), and he should have only one garment and two strong arms. The lotus-flowers in his hands should be raised to the shoulders. He should stand on a lotus-seat, placed in the car; or only on a lotus, without car. His feet should be adorned with anklets (kaṭaka). Sūryamaṇḍala, the halo, should be made of the colour of jasmine or vermilion.[13]

ekacakrasasaptāśvasasārathimahāratham /
kṛtvā tu sthāpayet Sūryam puruṣākṛtirūpiṇam //
tadardham vāmatasśyāmam nārīrūpaṣamanvitam //
kṛtvā tu sthāpayet samyak sarvābharaṇabhūṣitam /
ākuñcitasukeśam tu prabhāmaṇḍalasamyutam /
makuṭam vā vidhātavyam anyat sarvam sumaṇḍalam /
hastadvayalasatpadmam kañcukāñcitavigraham /
ekavastram dvidordaṇḍam skandhe saktakarāmbujam//
rathopetam vināvātha kevalam padmasamsthitam /
pādau sakaṭakau tasya sthiram padmāsane sthitam //

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jātihiṅgulyavarṇasthā (?) samsthāpyam Sūryamaṇḍalam

Pūrvakāraṇāgama, Patala 13.

No particular text can claim to be the main guide to our SECOND AND THIRD GROUPS. Undoubtedly the artists who fashioned these images must also have been dependent on the Purāṇas for the mythological details, and probably followed the instructions of the Śilpa-śāstras and other art-canons; but they do not seem to adhere very strictly to any particular work known to us. It appears from the sculptures that they attached more importance to the traditional conceptions of their time than to bookish descriptions. We are not in a position to combine this group with instructions from the other texts, except for some fragments from the Bhaviṣya Purāṇa.

The Bhaviṣya Purāṇa, while describing the chariot of the sun-god states that in the chariot of Sūrya the goddess Mahāśvetā should be placed in front of the god, and the goddesses Nikṣubhā and Rājñi on his right and left sides. Daṇḍin and Piṅgala should stand near his feet, on the left and right side respectively.

tasyāmāveśayet samyaṅ Mahāśvetāmupāharet
Nikṣubhā dakṣiṇe pārśve vāme Rājñī ca kīrtitā. 40.

Daṇḍa Piṅgalakau cāsya sthitau pādapraveśitau. 41.

Bhaviṣya Purāṇa, Brāh.Par. adh.136.[14]

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In the same Purāṇa, there is another instruction for making an image of Sūrya, which corresponds to our *third group.*

Brahamā should be placed on the west of Sūrya and Viṣṇu on the north. The goddesses Nikṣubhā and Rājñī (should stand) on his right and left sides. Piṅgala should occupy a seat on the right of the sun and Daṇḍanāyaka on the left. The place of Śrī and Mahāśvetā should be in front of the sun. Aśvins should be made to stand outside the temple, or at the extremes of the sculpture. A place for the Aśvins should be provided outside the main (?) temple.[15]

Brahmā paścimatassthāpyo Viṣṇuruttaratas tathā

Nikṣubhā [16] *dakṣiṇe pārśve vāme Rājñī prakīrtitā. 50.*

Piṅgalo dakṣine bhānor vāmato Daṇḍanāyakaḥ

Sri-Mahāśvetayossthānam puratastvaṁśumālinaḥ. 51

tatassthāpyāśvinossthānam pūrvadevagṛhād bahiḥ. 52

Bh. Pu. adh. 130.

Mr. N.N. Basu quotes the following passage from a manuscript of the Viśvakarmaśilpa.[17] The text, unfortunately, is so confused that it is difficult to translate it with confidence, but a comparative reading with the text from the Purvakāraṇāgama, quoted above, makes it much clearer. A free translation is given below.

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(His) one-wheeled great chariot is provided with a charioteer and seven horses. He holds a lotus in each of his hands. His breast is covered with a coat of mail and his slightly curling hair is dressed and decorated with gold (ornaments) and jewels, and adorned with a halo of light (*prabhāmaṇḍala*). On his right and left sides the goddesses Nikṣubhā and Rājñī are placed, decked with all sorts of ornaments and beautiful hair-dressings. His chariot mentioned above is indicated by the name of Makaradhvaja (?). (For the translation of the following three lines compare the 6th, 8th and 2nd lines of the passage quoted above from the Purvakāraṇāgama). Mr. N.N. Basu translates them : "He wears a crown. The figure is surrounded by a halo. Daṇḍa (Yama) is represented as one-faced, and Skanda as having a bright conch-shell. These two figures with the form of man are placed in front" Arka (Archa in the text), the lustrous, and illuminator of the world, should be represented on horse-back or on a lotus. The *Sūrya-maṇḍala* should be made of the colour of jasmine or vermilion. The god should have four or two hands, adorned with prominent lines and jewels (?). He should have lotuses in both his hands, and should stand on a chariot drawn by horses of variegated colour. His two gate- keepers, Daṇḍa and Piṅgala, should have swords in their hands.

ekacakram sasptāśvam sasārathiṁ mahāratham

hastadvayam padmadharam kañcukaścar-
mavakṣasam/

ākuñcitasukeśastu prabhāmaṇḍalamanditam

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keśaveśasamāyuktam svarṇaratnavibhūṣitam /

Nikṣubhā dakṣiṇe pārśve vāme Rājñī prakīrtitā

sarvābharaṇasamyuktā keśahārasamujjvalā /

evamuktarathastsya makaradhvaja isyate (ucyate?)

mukuṭañ cāpi dātavyam anyat sarvam sumaṇḍalam /

ekavaktrānkito Daṇḍo Skandas tejokarāmbujam

kṛtvā tu sthāpayet pūrvam puruṣākṛtirūpiṇam /

hayārūḍhastu kurvīta padmastham vārkanāmakam

sadīpyamānavapuṣam sarvalokaikadīpakam /

jātihiṅgulyasamstāpya kārayet Sūrya-maṇḍalam

caturvāhu dvihasto vā rekhāmaṇivibhājanā /

dvihastasthasarojanma śabslāśvarathasthitaḥ

Daṇḍaś ca Piṅgalaś caiva dvārapālau ca khaḍginau /

Viśvakarmaśilpa.

(Compare the above given accounts with plate XXII, in the "Annual Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India, 1903-'04, p.438).

According to the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*, the nose, the forehead, the thighs, the shanks, the cheeks and the chest of Ravi, the

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sun-god, one should make raised and prominent. He should be clad in the dress of the Northerners and be covered from his feet up to his breast. He should wear a diadem and carry two lotuses in his two hands. His face should be adorned with earrings and he should have a necklace hanging down; and should be girdled with *viyaṅga* [18] The colour of his face should resemble that of the interior of a red lotus. His body should be protected by a corslet, and he should have a smiling face. (The sun-god), having a halo glittering with jewels, confers happiness upon the maker.

nāsālalāṭajaṅghoruganḍavakṣāṁsi ca unnatāni Raveḥ

kuryād udīcyaveśam gūḍham pādād uro yāvat /

bibhrāṇaḥ svakararuhe pāṇibhyām paṅkaje mukuṭadhārī

kuṇḍalabhūṣitavadanaḥ pralambahāro viyad(ṁ) ? gavṛtaḥ /

kamalodaradyutimukhaḥ kañcukaguptaḥ smitaprasannamukhaḥ

ratnojjvalaprabhāmaṇḍalaś ca kartuś śubhakaro'rkaḥ ।

Bṛhatsaṁhitā, adh. 58, 46-48.

Mr. N.K. Bhattasali quotes[19] the following directions from the *Matsya Purāṇa* (chap.261, p.902) for the construction of an image of the sun-god :

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"The sun-god should be placed on a car with one wheel and seven horses, and he should have lotuses in his two hands. His lustre should be (purplish), like the inside of a lotus. The lotuses in his hands should rise over his shoulders. His body should be covered by effulgence. He should have two attendants, viz : Daṇḍa and Piṅgala, with sword in their hands. The god Bidhātā (Disposer, i.e., the god Brahmā) should be placed on one side with a pen in his hands".

In the *adhyāya* 62 of the same Purāṇa,[20] it is laid down that the image of Prabhākara, the sun-god, should be made riding in a one-wheeled chariot with seven horses. He should carry lotus flowers amorously in his well adorned hands, raised to the shoulders. The complexion of his body should be that of the inner part of a lotus, and he should have pleasing eyes. He should be adorned with a beautiful *mukuṭa*, and some times in paintings, his body should be shown covered with a cuirass, *colaka*. He should have two cloths, and his feet should be covered with rays. His attendants, Daṇḍin and Piṅgala, should be placed on his proper sides, both of these male figures must have a sword in their hands; on one side Dhātṛ, the creator, should be represented with pen. His charioteer Aruṇa should have the complexion of a lotus leaf, and the horses (Aśvins ?), Suvalaya and Grīva, should be placed at the extreme sides. His luminous seven horses should be joined with ropes of serpents, *sarparajju*. The god should be represented either on a lotus flower or on a vehicle, carrying a lotus in his hands.

Prabhākarasya pratimām idānīm śṛṇuta dvijāh

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rathastham kārayed devam padmahastam sulocanam/1.

saptāśvañ caikacakrañ ca ratham tāsya prakalpayet

mukuṭen vicitreṇa padmagarbhasamaprabham /2.

nānābharaṇabhūṣābhyām bhujābhyām dhṛtapuṣkaram

skandhasthe puṣkare te tu līlayaiva dhṛte sadā /3.

colakāc channavapuṣam kvacit citreṣu darśayet

vastrayugmasamopetam caraṇau tejasāvṛtau /4.

pratihārau ca kartavyau pārśvayor Daṇḍi-Piṅgalau

kartavyau khaḍgahastau tau pārśvayoḥ

puruṣāvubhau / 5.

lekhanīkṛtahastaś ca pārsve Dhātāram avyayam

nānādevagaṇair yuktam evam kuryād Divākaram /6.

Aruṇaḥ sārathiś cāsya padminīpatrasannibhaḥ

aśvau Suvalaya-grīvau antasthau tasya pārśvayoḥ /7.

bhujaṅgarajjubhir baddhāḥ saptāśva-raśmisamyutāḥ

padmastham vāhanastham vā padmahastam

prakalpayet / 8.

Matsya Purāṇa, adh. 62.

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It is interesting to mention here that the following description of Sūrya, taken from the *Viṣṇudharmottara*, is surprisingly similar to that of the *Matsyapurāṇa*, quoted by Mr. Gopinath Rao in his *"Elements of Hindu Iconography"*, Vol. I, part II, p. 87 of the original Saṁskṛta text. The passages quoted by Mr. Rao did not come to my notice in the edition of the Purāṇa in my possession, and, unfortunately, he does not mention the edition he has used or the chapter from which it is taken; but as the *Matsyapurāṇa* is much earlier than the *Viṣṇudharmottara* it may be taken for granted that the author of the latter work has borrowed the passages from the *Matsyapurāṇa* and altered a few words here and there only in obedionce to the tradition of his time.[23]

According to this authority : "Ravi, the sungod, should be made with a fine moustache, and with the colour of an ornament of red lead. His beautiful body, adorned with a brilliant garment and all kinds of ornaments, should have four arms and should be covered with a coat of armour. He should wear his girdle, called *viyaṅga;* and, above on the right and left hand sides, there should be the auspicious sunbeams, resembling a garland with all kind of flowers. On his left, there should be the good-looking and well-formed (figure of) Daṇḍin, and on his right, the exceedingly yellow figure of Piṅgala. O Yādava, both these should also be brilliantly dressed, and two of the hands of the god Vibhāvasu (Sun) should be placed upon their heads. Piṅgala should be represented with a pen and a palm-leaf in his hands, and the god (Daṇḍa) should be carved

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carefully carrying a shield and a spear. The lion-banner of Sūrya should be represented on his left. His four sons, Revanta, Yama, and the two Manu's, should be made on both his sides; or Ravi, the lord of the planets, should be made surrounded by them. On the two sides of Sūrya, his four wives, the goddesses Rājñī, Nikṣubhā, Chāyā and Suvarcasā should be made. He should be made sitting in an excellent one-wheeled chariot marked by six meridians or lines, with seven horses and Aruṇa as charioteer. Gāyatrī, Uṣṇig, Anuṣṭup, Bṛhatī, Paṅktī, Triṣṭup and Jagatī. These seven Vedic metres are the seven horses of the chariot of Arka (Sun). He maintains or retains all the worlds with the rays held in his hands.

Raviḥ kāryaḥ śubhasmaśruḥ sindūrābharaṇaprabhaḥ 1.

sudīpta-veśaḥ svākāraḥ sarvābharaṇasaṁyutaḥ / 2.

caturbāhur mahātejāḥ kavacenābhisaṁvṛtaḥ /

kartavyā rasanā cāsya yā vīyāṅgeti) samjñitā / 3.

raśmayas tasya kartavyā vāmadakṣiṇahastayoḥ /

ūrdhvasragdāmasaṁsthānāḥ) sarvapuṣpāñcitāḥ śubhāḥ / 4.

surūparūpaḥ) svākāro Daṇḍī) kāryosya vāmataḥ /

dakṣiṇe Piṅgalo bhāge kartavyaś cātipiṅgalaḥ / 5.

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Uddīpta-veśau) kartavyau tāvubhāvapi Yādava! /
tayor mūrdhani vinyastau karau kāryau vibhāvasoḥ / 6.

lekhanī-patraka-karaḥ) kāryo bhavati Piṅgalaḥ /
carma-śūladharo devastathā yatnādvidhīyate / 7.

Siṁhadhvajaś ca kartavyas tathā sūryasya vāmatah /
catvāraś cāsya kartavyāstanayās tasya pārśvayoḥ /8.

Revantaś ca Yamaś caiva Manudvitayameva ca /
graharājo raviḥ kāryo grahair vā parivāritaḥ / 9.

Rājñī ca ri (ni?) kṣubhā chāyā) tathā devī Suvarcasā /
catasraś cāsya kartavyāḥ patnyaś ca paripārśvayoḥ / 10.

eka-cakre' tha saptāśve ṣaḍrekhāṅke) rathottame /
upaviṣṭas tu kartavyo athavā) ruṇa-sārathiḥ / 11.

gāyatryuṣṇiganuṣṭup ca vṛhatī paṅktireva ca /
triṣṭup ca jagatī sapta chandasyārka-rathe hayāḥ / 12.

raśmibhiḥ karasaṁsthais tu dhārayaty akhilaṁ jagat /
siṁho dhvajagataś cāsya sākṣād dharmaḥ prakīrtitaḥ / 13.

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raśanāstham jagat- sarvam devo dhārayate tathā /

Rājñī bhū ri (ni?) kṣubhā dyauś ca Chāyā chāyā prakīrtitā / 14.

prabhā Suvarcasā proktās tasya devasya patnayaḥ /

raktavarṇaḥ sa bhagavān tejasāṁ dhāmakāraṇāt / 15.

asahyatejodhāritvāt gūḍhagātras tathaiva ca /

evam sarvamayaṁ dhāma sūrya eva prakīrtitaḥ / 16.

Viṣṇudharmottara, 3rd part, Adh. 69.

The description of Sūrya found in the *Agnipurāṇa* is quite different from those met with in the other texts. Daṇḍin and Piṅgala, according to the other works, as we have seen, are generally represented at the right and the left sides of the god, the one holding a staff or a sword or shield and spear in his hands, and the other an inkpot and pen, but this text is rather curious. If we accept the emendation proposed by Mr. Gopinath Rao, and change Kuṇḍī to Daṇḍī, then, Daṇḍin should be represented at the right side of the god holding an ink-pot and pen; but these attributes for Daṇḍin are quite unknown to mythology. Daṇḍin, as a god of war, has been placed by the gods in the chariot of Sūrya, to help him while engaged in a conflict with the Asuras. And, as far we know, Piṅgala has never been so brave as to use any weapon. In consequence, I would suggest keeping the word Kuṇḍī as it is

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and translate the text according to the following paraphrase : *Masībhājanalekhanyau kuṇḍī bibhrat dakṣiṇe tu Piṅgalaḥ vāme tu dvāri saraverganaḥ daṇḍabhṛt* : "Holding an ink-pot, pen and a waterpot *(kamaṇḍalu)* Piṅgala should be placed at the right side and with the other attendants of the sun-god and the possessor of the staff, Daṇḍī at the left side of the door. Thus according to this text, Sūrya should be represented, holding two lotuses in his hands, on a one-wheeled car drawn by seven horses. Piṅgala must be sculptured with an ink-pot, pen and a waterpot at the right side of the door, and Daṇḍin with the other attendants of Sūrya at the left. Rājñī and Nikṣubhā should be placed either side of the god, carrying chowries. Or, Bhāskara, the sun-god, should be shown alone on horseback."

Sasaptāśve saikacakre rathe sūryo dvipadmadhṛk /

masībhājana-lekhanyau bibhrat kuṇḍī (?) tu dakṣiṇe / 1.

vāme tu Piṅgalo dvāri daṇḍabhṛt saraverganaḥ /

vālavyajanadhāriṇyau pārśve Rājñī ca Niṣprabhā (Nikṣubhā?) / 2.

athavāśvasamāruḍhaḥ kārya ekastu bhāskaraḥ /

varadābdyajinaḥ sarve dikpālāstrakarāḥ kramāt / 3.

Sūryāryamādirakṣontāś catur hastā dviṣaḍdale / 4.

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Agnipurāṇa adhy. 51.

The Śilparatna prescribes that Ravi, the sun-god, should be represented on a lotus-seat placed in a one-wheeled chariot, which should be drawn by seven horses and all joined with straps.

His body should be highly lustrous and red in colour, and he should have two hands, in either of which he holds a lotus. His earrings and diadem should be made of ruby, and his well adorned body be beautiful and charming. His garland must be red in colour and the charioteer has no thigh. The two gatekeepers, Daṇḍin and Piṅgala should hold sword and shield.

raktavarṇo mahātejā dvibāhuḥ padmabhṛt raviḥ /

saptabhisturagair yukte sarva rajjusamanvite //

ekacakre rathe tiṣṭhan pādākrānta-saroruhaḥ /

māṇikya-kuṇḍalopetaḥ padmarāga-kirīṭikaḥ //

raktāmbara-dharo ramyas suvyaktāṅgo manoharaḥ /

anūru-sārathiḥ kāryaḥ pratihārau ca pārśvayoḥ //

Maṇḍala (daṇḍi?) Piṅgala-nāmānau khaḍga-kheṭaka-dhāriṇau /

Śilparatna, adh., 25.

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There are two descriptions of Mārtaṇḍa, one in the *Bhaviṣyapurāṇa* and the other in the *Tantrasāra*. According to the former text, the complexion of Mārtaṇḍa is that of the Chinarose, and he is highly lustrous. He sits on a white lotus, has all the auspicious signs, and is adorned with all sorts of ornaments. He has one face and two hands, each of which holds a white lotus. He is represented in the middle of a circle, clad in red garments.

From the *Tantrasāra*, we learn that the lustre of the god resembles the colour of a golden lotus or a new leaf (or coral). In his lotus-like hands he holds a beautiful *khaṭvāṅga*, two lotuses, a wheel *(cakra)*, a lance *(śakti)*, a snare *(pāśa)*,, a very brilliant hook *(Sṛṇi)*, a rosary *(akṣamālā)* and a skull *(kapāla)*. He has four charming faces each of which is beautified with three eyes, and he is equally divided with his beloved *(Vallabhārdha)*. His diadem is made of jewels and he is shining with the necklace.

Japāvarṇam mahātejam śveta-padmoparisthitam /

sarvalakṣaṇasampannam sarvābharaṇabhūṣitam / 34.

tathaikavaktram dvibhujam somapaṅkajakam dharam /

maṇḍalena ca rupantu madhyastham rakta-vāsasam/35.

Mārtaṇḍasya idam rūpam ---------

Bhaviṣyapurāṇa, Brāh. Parva. adh. 207

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hemāmbhojapravālapratima-nijarucim cāru khaṭvāṅga-padmau /

cakram śaktim sapāśam śṛṇimatirucirām akṣamālām kapālam /

hastāmbhojair dadhānam trinayanavilasad vedavaktrābhirāmam /

mārtaṇḍam vallabhārdham maṇimayamukuṭam hāradīptam bhajāmaḥ /

Tantrasāra, quoted in the *Śabdakalpadruma*, Vol. I 23.

The *Sūrya-Pañcaratna* supplies a description of Sūrya, which represents the god with all the attributes of Viṣṇu. According to this text "Sūrya should be decorated with a radiant head-dress, armlets, bracelets, and a necklace, descending down to the feet. His waist should be adorned with ornaments and his face with excellent earrings. He should have a beautiful chest, and his hands should carry a conch-shell *(śaṅkha)*, a discus *(cakra)*, a lotus *(padma)*, and a mace *(gadā)*. His body should be faultless and bright as lighting. His silken garments should be yellow in colour and he should sit on a lotus."

Sūryam bhāsvat kirīṭāṅgadavalayagalam (Bhṛtamg) kal-pahārodarāṅghrim,

sroṇībhūṣam suvakṣo maṇinikaramahat kuṇḍalam maṇḍitāsyam /

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hastodyacchaṅkhacakrāmbujagadamamalam pītakauśeyavāsam,

vidyut bhāṣā samānam dinakaramanagham padmasamstham namāmi /

Bṛhatstotrasaritsāgara, p. 310, Sūryapañcaratna.

Another similar description is found in the *Śabdakalpadruma*, according to which, "Nārāyaṇa should be contemplated always in the middle of the sundisk sitting on a lotus-seat and adorned with armlets,, *makara*-shaped earrings, a diadem and a necklace. He should have a golden complexion and hold a conch-shell and a wheel in his hands. His one-wheeled divine car must be decorated with gold and his two (rest) hands be occupied in carrying lotuses."

dhyeyaḥ sadā Savitṛ-maṇḍala-madhyavartī

Narāyaṇaḥ sarasijāsana-sanniviṣṭaḥ /

keyūravān makara-kuṇḍalavān kirīṭī /

hārī hiraṇmaya-vapur dhṛta śaṅkha-cakraḥ /

ekacakro rathe yasya divyaḥ kanakabhūṣitaḥ /

sa me bhavatu suprītaḥ padmahasto divākaraḥ /

Śabdakalpadruma, p. 402.

According to the *Tantrasāra*, Bhānu, the sun-god, is the matchless ocean of all virtues and lord of the universe. Two

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(upper ones) of his four hands carry lotuses and the other two are posed in the *varada-* and *abhaya mudrā*. He is decorated with a diadem made of rubies and has three eyes and a ruddy complextion.

raktāmbujāsanamaśeṣaguṇaikasindhum

Bhānum samasta-jagatām adhipam bhajāmi /

padmadvayābhayavarān dadhatam karābjair

māṇikyamaulimaruṇāṅkarucitrinetram /

Tantrasāra, quoted in the *Śabdakalpadruma*, Vol. III, part 4-5, p. 400

We will now draw attention to an important point of solar- iconography. In the Bh. Pu. we find elaborate descriptions of the various materials and measurements of the sun images. It is true that the images of Sūrya, known to us are made either in stone or in bronze, we have not met with any specimen among ancient painting or any image carved in wood; but the historians of the early mediaeval period are of opinion that the whole body of the sun image at Multan was made of wood. It is generally accepted that wood-carving flourished in India even earlier than the Maurya Empire. Accordingly, we may perhaps assume that there existed other similar examples of wooden images, but owing to their undurable material they could not stand the roughness of the Indian climate.

At the time of the Bh.Pu., gold, silver, copper, clay, stone, wood, and painting were the materials employed to represent images of Sūrya for worship. But as the Purāṇa pays special

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attention to the description of wooden (vārkṣī) images, we may conclude that wood was commonest among them.

atha te sampravakṣyāmi pratimāvidhivistaram /

sarveṣāmeva devānām Ādityasya viśeṣataḥ / 1.

arcā saptavidhā proktā bhaktānām śubhavṛddhaye /

kāñcanī rājatī tāmrī pārthivī śailajā smṛtā / 2.

vārkṣī cālekhyakā ceti mūrtisthānāni sapta vai /

vārkṣīvidhānam te vīra varṇayisyāyisyāmyaśeṣataḥ /3.

It gives a long list of trees useful to carve an image, and even in regard to the four castes they are divided among four groups :

madhūko devadāruśca vṛkṣarājaśca candanaḥ /

bilvaścāmrātakaścaiva khadirothāñjanas tathā / 10.

nimbaḥ śrīparṇavṛkṣaśca panasaḥ saralo'rjunaḥ /

raktacandanaparyantāḥ śresṭhāḥ syuḥ pratimādrumaḥ pratimādrumaḥ / 11.

varṇānāmānupūrvyeṇa dvau dvau vṛksau prakīrtitau /

nimbādyāḥ sarvavarṇānām vṛksāḥ sādhāraṇāḥ smṛtāḥ / 12.

kathyamānān viśeṣeṇa śṛṇu vīra tathā'parān /

suradāru śamī caiva madhūkaścandanas tathā / 13.

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ete vai taravas tāta Brāhmaṇānām śubhāḥ smṛtāḥ / 13.

Kṣatrasya ca tathā'riṣṭaḥ khadiras tindukas tathā /

aśvatthaś ca tathā Sāmva drumāḥ karakataḥ śubhaḥ/ 14.

Vaiśyānām tadvadevasyūḥ khadiraś candanas tathā /

puṇyāś ca taravaścaite śubhadās tu tathaiva ca / 15.

kesarāḥ sarjakāścāmrāḥ śālavṛkṣas tathetarāḥ /

Ete vai taravaḥ puṇyāḥ Śūdrāṇām śubhadāyakāḥ / 16.

According to this Purāṇa milky trees should not be used as a material for carving an image, because they are weak by nature, nor those which grow on a crossway or are considered in the light of a son.[24] Trees, near a place of worship or grown on a mole-hill, or those out of which *devatās* have been carved or those which are considered as *caitya*- trees, those which are grown on a cremation ground, or are the abode of birds should not be utilized to carve an image. Similarly those also must not be used which have hollows or which are dried up at the top, or injured by weapons, or preserved as food for elephants,[25] or having weak branches and destroyed trunk, or diseased, which bear blossoms at an improper time and are devoid (of blossoms) at the proper time and those the leaves of which are withered, or haunted by demons or crows *(dhvāṅkṣa)*, [26] or with only one or three branches, or fallen by themselves or knocked down by elephants, or dried ournt or deserted by

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birds. Only auspicious tress should be used, which have a pleasant form and are full of leaves, flowers and fruits.

kṣīriṇo varjitāḥ sarve durbalās te svabhāvataḥ /

catuṣpathesu na grāhyā ye ca putrakavṛkṣakāḥ / 5.

devatāyatanasthā ye tathā valmīkasaṁbhavāḥ /

utkīṇadevatā yeṣu caityavṛkṣāśca ye smṛtāḥ 6.

śmaśānabhūmijā ye ca paksiṇām nilayāśca ye /

sakoṭarāśca ye vṛkṣāḥ śuṣkāgrā ye ca pādapāḥ / 7.

śastreṇa nihatā ye ca kuñjarāśās tathā kṛtāḥ /

sāmādyāḥ sarujodhaśca vyādhinaśca tathaiva ca / 8.

akāle puspitā ye ca kāle te ca vivarjitāḥ /

śiṇaparṇāśca taravo rakṣo-dhvāṅkṣa-niṣevitāḥ / 9.

ekaśākhā ' dviśākhāśca triśākhāśca tathā ' dhamāḥ /9.

svenaiva patitā ye ca hastibhiḥ pātitās tathā /

śuṣkāśca vahnidagdhāśca pakṣibhiścāpi varjitāḥ / 20.

taravo varjanīyāśca grahītavyāḥ śubhāḥ drumāḥ /

snigdharūpāḥ saparṇāśca sapuṣpāḥ saphalās tathā/21.

Bh. Pu., Brāh. Par. adh. 131.

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From the same Purāṇa we know that an image of Sūrya should be carved according to one of three measurements. The first is in cubits, according to which an image may measure one, two, three or three and half cubits. According to the second, the height of an image should be one eighth of the door of a temple, two-thirds of which should be occupied by the image and one-third by the throne. According to the third measurement an image should cover the space equivalent to that covered by 84 aṅgulas (fingers).

ekahastā dvihasṭā vā trihastā vā pramāṇataḥ /

tathā sārdhatrihastā ca Savituḥ pratimā śubhā / 2.

prāsādād dvārato vāpi pramāṇam ca prakalpitam /

tadvat pramāṇam kartavyam satatam śubhamicchatā/3.

ekahastā bhavet saumyā dvihastā dhanadhānyadā /

trihastā pratimā Bhānoḥ sarvakāmapradā smṛtā / 4.

sārdhatrihastā pratimā subhikṣākṣemakāriṇī /

agre madhye ca mūle ca pratimā sarvataḥ samā / 5.

gāndharvī sā tu vijñeyā dhanadhānyavahā smṛtā / 5.

devāgārasya yad dvāram tasmād aṣṭānśamudyatā /

tribhāgaiḥ piṇḍikā kāryā dvau bhāgau pratimā bhavet/6.

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aṅgulaiśca tathā mūrtiścaturaśīti sammitaiḥ /

vistārāyāmataḥ kāryā vadanam dvādaśāṅgulam / 7.

mukhatribhāgaiścibukam lalāṭam nāsikā tathā /

karṇau nāsikayā tulyau pādau cāniyatau tayoḥ / 8.

nayane dvyaṅgule syātām tribhāgā tārakā bhavet /

tritīyatārakābhāgāt kūryād dṛṣṭim vicaksaṇaḥ / 9.

lalāṭamastakotsedham kūryāt tatsamaneva ca /

pariṇāhastu śiraśo bhaved dvāviṅśadaṅgulaḥ / 10.

tulyā nāsikayā grīvā mukhena hṛdayāntaram /

mukhavistāraṇamurastato ' rdham tu kaṭaḥ smṛtā / 11.

bāhu pravāhutulyau tu urū janghe ca tat same /

gulphādhastāt tu pādaḥ

syāducchritaścaturaṅgulaḥ / 12.

ṣaḍaṅgulasuvistāras tathāṅguṣṭhāṅgulatrayam /

pradeśinī ca tattulyā hinā śeṣā nakhair yutā / 13.

caturdaśāṅgulaḥ pāda āyāmāt parikīrtitaḥ /

evam laksaṇasaṃyuktā pratimārcyā bhavet sadā / 14.

Bh. Pu., Brāh. Par. Adh. 132.

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Before touching upon the artistic influence, left so far out of discussion, we must examine the complicated nature of solar- iconography. The most striking features in the sun-images are the representation of the leggings or so-called boots, the four or seven horses and the single wheel of the chariot, and the *avyaṅga*.

How this foot-wear came to be associated with the sun-images is yet a question. In none of the mythological or iconographical texts, examined by me, have I found it mentioned that the legs of the sun-god should be covered by high boots or leggings. From the *Bh. Pu.* [27] we know that *Viśvakarman*, the divine artificer, put the god on the lathe and reduced his splendour by slowly anointing him with nectar. But the god did not allow this to be done any further than above the knees; and since then his legs are always covered. The Matsya Pu. also recounts the same reason and adds[28], "So, in the matter of the worship of the sun, no one anywhere fashions his feet. If it is done, it gives leprosy. In pictures, as well as in images, placed in temples, the devotee should carefully refrain from conceiving the feet of the sun-god." The Bṛhat Saṁhitā is also of opinion that the body of the sun-god should be hidden up to the thighs or the breast.[29]

It may be mentioned here that the injunction most probably would have been a tradition accepted long before the beginning of the Paurāṇic period. In the earliest examples of the sun images found at Bhaja, Khandagiri, Bodh Gaya as well as in a terra-cotta from Patna, we find that the image of the sun-god is made in such a manner that his legs are hidden by the body of the car. On the other hand, the representation of

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boots was in frequent use with the sun images in the Kuṣāṇa period. The terracotta from Delhi, the image from Khair Khaneh and the early Sūrya images at Mathura illustrate this fact. "It is by no means impossible that the Kuṣāṇa kings, whose attachment to the cult of fire (whether Magian or Indian) is well known, and who paid special honour to the sun, may have set up and popularised a form of Sūrya image dressed in their own fashion".[30] The traditional convention, not to represent the feet of the god, may have conveniently been utilized to introduce boots with the sun images. If we compare an image in the Mathura Museum,[31] representing a royal personage, apparently a Kuṣāṇa king in tunic and boots, with the same attributes, but without horses and seated on a throne flanked by lions and marked in front by a fire altar,[32] we see how similar it is to the sun images of that period. The term *udīcyaveśa*, northern dress, prescribed for the image of Sūrya by the Bṛhat saṁhitā and the Matsyapurāṇa quoted by Mr. Rao,[33] seems to echo the same idea.

But after the decline of the Kuṣāṇa empire, that is to say, from the beginning of the mediaeval period, the representation of boots is not very strict or natural. Two distinct groups of the sun images of this period are met with in museums and temples. In the one the feet of the god are not carved at all. In some images, they are hidden by the car; and in the other, the artists, like the Divine Artificer of old, do not show their skill further down than the knees. Images of this group are noticed in Bihar, South India (Elura and Belur) and Burma.[34] The second group enjoyed a vast popularity, apparently on account of its similarity with the sun images of

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Kuṣāṇa period. Like these images we find here the outlines of the legs of the god covered with leggings or boots; though in most cases they look more like artistically finished outlines of the feet than boots or leggings. We cannot agree with Dr. Bhattasali,[35] that "the so called boots of the sun-god may probably be nothing but the finished outlines of Sūrya's uncovered legs", as sometimes the toes of the god are fashioned like toes of shoes used in Upper India and his wives and attendants are also represented with the same sort of footwear, apparently to show their dependance on their master.

In summarizing our conclusions, we may state that the boots of the sun-god must have been introduced in the Kuṣāṇa period and remained in vogue in most Northern sun images either in natural or conventional forms.

The second question about the horses in the chariot of the god is very old and problematic. Here, however, we are concerned only to seek the meaning that they represent. There are two sorts of representations, the one with four and the other with seven horses. In the earliest examples found in Indian art the solar car is drawn by four horses. But as far as I know, there is only one Saṁskṛta text, viz. the Bhaviṣyapurāṇa,[36] which mentions four horses of Sūrya's chariot. The question how this representation came into use in India, is difficult to answer. Many scholars are of opinion that the sun image has been originally introduced in India by the Greeks or by the Scythians. This hypothesis is based on solid grounds, but it is tempting to adduce a few facts which seem to contradict it.

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The earliest known example of the sun image in India is that seen on the left side of the verandah of the ancient cave at Bhaja. If we compare this image with other contemporary sun images found in other parts of the world, the only point in which they agree is the representation of the four horses in front of the chariot. In none of the Greek, Egyptian or Scythian Images, the sun-god is represented attended by two female figures, which according to Hindu mythology are the personified earth and firmament,[37] and which being brightened and illuminated by the god are considered as his wives. In the Bhaja sculpture we further notice a very grossly proportioned nude female demon under the car, which in my opinion, illustrates the superstitious belief of the original inhabitants of India, and is the personified darkness. Another remarkable feature is some kind of stirrups, provided to the female figure in the inner angle of the verandah. It is the earliest known instance in the world.[38] Owing to the individual features of this image we are led to the conclusion that this form of the sun image with its indigenous elements is originally Indian.

We will now attempt to explain the meaning of the four horses in front of the car of the god : According to Indian belief they are meant to represent the four *Yugas*, the four cardinal points (*Diśās)* or the four divisions of the day : *Prātaḥ*, morning, *Madhyāhna*, mid-day, *Aparāhṇa*, afternoon, and *Sandhyā*, evening. It is curious that the last- mentioned idea is also found in the West :

"Antiquity", says the Abbé Baniér, "has transmitted to us the names of the four horses that drew the chariot of the sun. They were Erythraeus or the red, Actaeon, the luminous, Lampus, the resplendent, and Philogaeus, the earth-loving.

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The first denotes the sun-rising, whose rays are then reddish. Actaeon, represents the time when the sun's rays shot through the atmosphere are clearer, at about the ninth or tenth hour of the morning. Lampus figures noonday when this luminary is in all his strength and glory, and Philogaeus represents the setting sun that seems to kiss the earth."[39]

The seven horses of Sūrya, often mentioned in the Vedas[40] and other Saṁskṛta texts, are said to represent his seven rays. The *Kūrmapurāṇa* states that though the sun has innumerable rays, the seven among them are chiefs. They are : Susumna, Harikeśa, Viśvakarman, Viśvavyaca, Sampadvasu, Arvāgvasu, and Svarād. The first ray, Susumna, which nourishes the moon is said to shine slantingly upwards. The second, Harikeśa, cherishes the stars, and the remaining five foster the planets, Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn respectively. In Hindu astronomy every planet is given a different hue, and so evidently the seven rays of the sun are also of different colours, as each is said to nourish a different planet. It appears from this that the spectrum was not unknown in the Purāṇas.[41]

But in other Purāṇas and in later literature Sūrya is supposed to be a manifestation of the three Vedas and the sun-rays are accordingly interpreted as the seven Vedic metres (*chandas*) called : gāyatrī, bṛhatī, uṣṇih, jagatī, paṅktī. anuṣṭup, and triṣṭup.[42]

The colour of the horses of Sūrya is described as being fallow *(harit)* in the Vedas and in later literature.[43] The com-

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mentary of the *Sūryaśataka* explains that no reflection of the solar horses can be seen upon the emerald slopes, because the horses are, like the emeralds, of a greenish colour *(harit)*.[44] But the Bhaviṣyapurāṇa says that the colour of the horses attached to the four-horse chariot of the god is white.[45]

In the Vedas and in later literature,[46] the chariot of Sūrya is often said to have only one wheel, but in one hymn of the R.V.[47] the poet says, "The *brāhmans* rightly know, Sūrya, that thou hast two wheels; but it is sages *(addhātayah)* alone who know the one wheel which is hidden." This secret, however, is revealed in another hymn, where the poet addresses Indra and says, "Thou didst detach one wheel of Sūrya, the other thou didst set free to go for Kutsa."[48] The meaning of Kutsa is a point of controversy, which may be left out of discussion.

There is a riddle in the Ṛgveda[49] which alludes to the symbolic meaning of the one-wheeled car of Sūrya. "Seven harness a one-wheeled car; it is drawn by one horse with seven names; three naves has the immortal, never-stopping wheel, on which all these beings stand."

Unfortunately the purport of the riddle is not clear. Its meaning can only be guessed at. Here we will quote the following explanation offered by the late Prof. Winternitz.[50] "The seven priests of the sacrifice harness (by means of the sacrifice) the sun-chariot, which is drawn by seven horses or *one* horse with seven forms : this immortal sun-wheel has three naves, namely, the three seasons (summer, rainy season and winter), in which the life of all mankind is passed."

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But when comparing this riddle with a passage in the Atharvaveda (XIX.53, 2) "Time, the steed, runs with seven reins (rays)", I am inclined to assume that the seven horses are the seven reins (rays) and that the one-wheeled car is the universe, (which is often described as Saṁsāracakra) which is drawn by one horse, time, in the form of a year, with seven naves, probably the seven divisions of the Universe, Bhūs, Bhuvas, Svas, etc. The three naves of this immortal, never-stopping wheel (the universe) are the three classes of created beings namely *aṇḍaja*, the oviparous, birds etc., *piṇḍaja*, trees etc., and *jarāyuja*, the viviparous, man etc., the cause of the existance of the Universe. Or they might be taken as three parts of a day, *Prabhāta*, the morning, *Madhyāhna*, the noon and *Sandhyā*, the evening : *nābhyas tiśras tu kālasya trayaḥ kālāḥ prakīrtitah.* [51]

Besides this there is another explanation of Sūrya's chariot in the Puraṇas from which it appears that the car is not a material one but an allegorical car. The scope, however, of the present treatise prevents us from going into detail as to astronomical matters. Let us complete his description with a summary given by Dr. Bhattasali :

"The chariot of the sun moves on a single wheel (the apparent unceasing motion of the sun from north to south and south to north?), but it has also eight smaller wheels, (orbits of the planets?). The length of the pole is twice the middle part (Does it mean to say that the path is elliptical?). The different parts of the chariot are composed of different measures of time, ranging from seconds to aeons. The chariot of the sun has got some sort of connection with the polar star, but I cannot say

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what is exactly meant. The passage appears to mean that the chariot is attached to the polar star by strings and round that star it is revolving like a potter's wheel."[52]

The charioteer of the god is Aruṇa, the personified Dawn, who, according to Indian mythology, was the son of Kaśyapa and Vinatā, and the brother of Garuḍa,[53] the vehicle of Viṣṇu. In fulfilment of a divine promise that she should become the mother of twin sons, in course of time she gave birth to two eggs. She kept them warm for five hundred years; but then, when no progeny appeared, she grew impatient, broke the shell of one egg, and brought forth Aruṇa with the lower part of his body undeveloped. From this circumstance, Aruṇa is called thighless *(anūru)*. He was placed by the gods in the forepart of Sūrya's car, to veil and to absorb some of the heat of that deity. He thus prevented a calamity, when Sūrya, not having received any assistance from the gods when Rāhu attempted to devour him, in his wrath sought to burn the world.[54]

The next point, which claims our attention, is the Avyaṅga or Viyaṅga. Many scholars are of opinion that the Avyaṅga or girdle of the sun-god in the Purāṇas, is the same as Aiwiyaoṅghana in the Zend Avestā or Kustī of modern Pārsīs. To test the truth of this theory, however, we should compare the facts regarding the matter :

The *avyaṅga*, according to the *Bhaviṣyapurāṇa*, [55] was presented to Sūrya by Vāsuki, the mythical king of serpents; and the god in order to please him tied it round his waist;

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babandha tam ca tatprītyai madhyabhāge tamātmanaḥ. [56]
Therefore those who want to acquire his favour, use the girdle. It is called *avyaṅga* because it originated from the body of the serpent : *aheraṅgāt samutpanno avyaṅgastu tataḥ smṛtaḥ.* [57]
It is made of one colour and its maximum is one hundred and twenty angulas and the minimum is one hundred and eight. In any case it must not be less than this.[58]

The *kustī*, worn by the Pārsīs as an indispensable symbol of their religion, is formed of seventy-two fine threads of lamb's wool twisted together, which represent the seventy-two, Has of Yasna.[59] The regulations for its manufacture, which is a prerogative of women of priestly family, are very minute, and every detail is a most excellent mystery.[60]

This description, however, indicates that the Kustī or Aiwiyaoṅghana of the Avesta, is identical to the sacred thread *(Yajñopavīta)* of the Hindus. "To the Pārsīs, as well as to the Brahmans", says Prof. M. Haug, "the investiture with the sacred thread (called Kusti by the Pārsīs, Aiwiyaoṅghana in the Zend Avesta) is enjoined as a religious duty. As long as this ceremony has not been performed, one is no real member of either the Brahmanical or Zoroastrian community.[61] The time for performing it lasts among the Brahmans from the eight to the sixteenth year (see Yājñavalkya, 1, 14, 37), the Pārsīs are invested with the Kusti in their seventh year."[62]

The above description leads us to the conclusion that the use of the Kustī of Aiwiyaoṅghana is an indispensable religious institution of the Magis or Pārsīs, but that is not the

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case with Avyaṅga or Viyaṅga. It is simply an ornament to the god. Its use is recommended only to them who wish to acquire his favour. It has nothing to do with the strictness of the religious duty. Moreover, its shape, material and measurement are also quite different from the Kustī. But then the question arises, what was the origin of the Avyaṅga. This question may be left open for the present; but I should like to put forward a few suggestions. In the earlier sculptures of India the use of a girdle is very frequent, and so, it might not be improbable that when Magians came into India and found the god represented with a girdle, similar to their Aiwiyaoṅghana, they interpreted it in the same way. Avyaṅga probably is a Saṁskritised name for Aiwiyaoṅghana. But in the course of Kuṣāṇa period Avyaṅga became something like a belt to fasten his sword. There is no doubt that the description in the Bh. Pu. has a mystic meaning, into which we shall not attempt to enter here.

Among his ornaments the most notable are his breast-plate or armour, his diadem and the double garment (*vastrayugmasamāpetam*, Mats. Pu. 63). The first two are practically universal, but the two garments are occasionally found absent.

One of the two vestments worn by Sūrya is that which the god wears as a *dhotī* fastened round the waist by the girdle. The upper garment is sometimes folded and hung in front from the girdle, and sometimes rolled up like a scarf and attached to some portion of the body.

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As regards his weapon *(praharaṇa)* a sword is often represented in connection with his belt; but the Bh. Pu. mentions another weapon named *VYOMA : Indrasya ca yathā vajram tathā vyoma Raveḥ smṛtam,* [64] but unfortunately the text is obscure.

The purāṇas supply a long list of his attendants. But those who invariably accompany him in the images, have already been mentioned in the course of our discussion of the iconographical texts. The functions and characteristics of his three wives and of the charioteer, Aruṇa, have also been noticed. Of the two male attendants, placed on the right and the left side of the god, one is always represented with a pen and ink-pot in his hands, and the other mostly with a sword in his right hand, sometimes a staff, occasionally a conch-shell.

All the authorities are practically unanimous in calling the figure with the sword of staff Daṇḍa, Daṇḍin or Daṇḍānayaka, meaning Skanda, the field-marshal of the heavenly army. He was placed by the gods at the left side of Sūrya's chariot to help him, when he was engaged in the battle with the Asuras. There is another description which mentions another name Diṇḍī, synonymous to Rudra : *vyomnaḥ param tiṣṭhati yastu magnaḥ sa mucyata Rudra ihāpi Diṇḍī.* [65]

The other figure, bearded and corpulent, with pen and inkstand in his hands, is usually called Piṅgala. He is usually taken as the god Agni, engaged in recording the good and the evil deeds of people, and called Piṅgala because of his piṅgala

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or tawny colour : *likhata yaḥ prajanām ca sukṛtam yacca duṣkṛtam, Agnir dakṣiṇapārśve tu piṅgalatvāt sa piṅgalaḥ* [66] But sometimes he is also taken as the god Vidhātā, the disposer. In the Matsya Pu.[67] Vidhātā is directed to be placed on one side of Sūrya with pen and inkstand in his hands. This idea is further supported by the statements in the Bh. Pu. that the Maga Brāhmaṇas, the worshippers of Sūrya, used to wear beards, because Brahmā on the chariot of the god and Sūrya himself have beards.

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3

EARLY SUN - IMAGES

In the present chapter we shall endeavour to analyse the factors which have contributed mainly to the genesis and subsequent evolution of the early Sūrya images, covering some six and a half centuries, from the third century B.C. to the first decade of the fourth century A.D. The subject, it need hardly be said, is both comprehensive and rather complicated, and the most I can do in the limited space at my disposal, is to sketch in the bare outlines.

The earliest figures of the sun-god known to us are those found on a tarra-cotta from Patna, in sculptures in the ancient caves at Bhaja and at Khandagiri, on a pillar at Lala Bhagat, on a railing pillar at Bodh Gaya, stone images from Mathura, reliefs from Gandhāra and paintings at Bamiyan and Fondukistan in Afghanistan. These examples can conveniently be classified into four distinct groups. The type occurring in the first three images is in an uncanonical form. The fourth and the fifth images, evidently follow a literary source and are strictly symmetrical.[1] The images from Mathura, though fol-

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lowing the literary sources bear distinctly Iranian or Kuṣāṇa elements, which exercised a great deal of influence on the development of the sun images in northern India since the early Christian era.[2] The images from Gandhāra, Bamiyan and Fondukistan are undoubtedly conceived in a Hellenistic style with a tinge of Hindu mythology.

Before we proceed to take some of the points separately, it seems necessary to survey the opinions on the origin of the sun image in India. The type of the sun image with a seven horse chariot is unanimously accepted as Indian in origin; but the type with four horses which occurs among the earliest examples known in India, gives rise to controversy. "In this treatment", says General Sir Alexander Cunningham, "I think that there is decided evidence of Greek influence. The Indian Sūrya, from the earliest times, down to the present day, has always been represented as driving a chariot with *seven* horses.[3] But whence come the four horses? To the question I can only reply - "From the Greeks".[4] The same opinion is held by Sir John Marshall in the pages of the 'Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society'.[5] "That Greek art has been responsible for this number of horses is likewise beyond dispute." The opinion expressed by both these scholars is, no doubt, based on solid grounds; but it is tempting to advance a few facts, which might risk contradicting the theory.

It is quite true, none of the Saṁskṛta text[6] bears any witness to the four horses of Sūrya's chariot, and so accordingly it could have been borrowed from Greek art. But the question may be asked whether, besides the representation of the four horses there is anything in the early Indian sun-im-

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ages, bearing even a slight resemblance to what is usual in the sun images of ancient Greece. If not, then it seems risky to base a theory on such a slight resemblance, which may have been due to a tradition common to both the nations. A chariot with four horses has always been considered a matter of great honour in India,[7] and even today no other than a king is allowed to employ it. We admit that the representation of the four horses in Indian art is much later than in that of the Greeks, but it appears in the earliest representations of the sun-god which have yet come to light in India. Among the three Hindus divinties, Indra, Sūrya, and Śrī, found in the early sculptures of India, it is only Sūrya who is associated with a chariot, as being always engaged in war with the demons of darkness, and being in haste, *nāham kālaksipam sahe,* [8] he requires a chariot; and the artist does not fail to utilize the opportunity, to represent the chariot combined with other native beliefs.

Let us now take an early example of the image of Sūrya and compare it with images of the sun-god found in other parts of the world. For example, if we take the image seen on the left side of the verandah of the ancient cave at Bhaja, it proves in no way equal to any image found anywhere, except as regards the representation of the four horses of the chariot.[9] In none of the Greek images of the sun-god is he represented accompanied with two female figures, which, according to Hindu mythology, are the personified earth and firmament,[10] and being brightened and illumined by the god, are regarded as his wives. Another feature which may be taken to be a native element in the Bhaja cave sculpture, is the representation of a very grossly proportioned nude female demon under the car, which I believe, illustrates the superstitious belief of the

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original inhabitants of India, and is the personified darkness. These individual features lead us to the conclusion that this form of the sun image is originally Indian and mainly inspired by indigenous elements.

No student of Indian art can fail to recognise the native elements in the Early School of sculpture, though it has been a favourite fashion among most writers on Indian art to give credit for the introduction of the fine arts in India to the Indo-Āryans, who brought with them the Vedic civilisation. It is true that the Vedic Āryans were men of great ability and mental vigour, but this found its expression in their thoughts, in their literature, and in their religion. But they could not express their ideas with the chisel or the brush, for the simple reason that their tendency to intellectualisation could not harmonize with something which comes from the sphere of emotion, or in other words, which is only of the heart but not of the mind, and which is the generator of the pictorial and plastic arts. But as soon as their race blended with the Dravidians or Pre-Āryans, the mixed stock which resulted from the union found itself possessed of the means of putting its thoughts into visible concrete form. In the earliest sculptures of Bhaja, Khandagiri, and Bharhut we see the awakening harmony of this new power, and we hear the first lisping accents of humanism and intellectualism.[11]

The fact which leads us to this conclusion is the absence of any early remains in the regions where the Vedic people established themselves : that is, in the North-West and the Punjab. If it was the Vedic people, who were the authors of Indian art, we should expect the art to be strongest in those parts and weakest in the districts most remote from their

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influence. But what we actually find is the very reverse. The early art in Hindustan and Central India is full of dexterity of touch, fertility of imagination, and individuality of rhythmic lines.

"The Nordic people entered India from the North-West, and expelled or exterminated the bulk of the Draviḍian and the other Pre-Āryan population from the 'land of the five rivers'. But the further they proceed, the fewer grew their numbers. Hence, in Hindustan and Central India, instead of sweeping away the older inhabitants in front of them, they gradually coalesced with them forming a mixed stock, and evolving a hybrid Āryo-Dravidian culture."[12] In the first chapter we have already discussed how this mixture played a major part in all that concerns the development of literature and religion; and it need not be repeated here that the custom of image-worship is also largely due to it.

We must now consider the individual points of the various early figures of the sun-god. The plaque (Patna Museum No. 1. diameter 3 1/2") from Kadamkuan, Patna, is of great interest (Plate I).[13] The most remarkable point in the image is the representation of the coat- of-mail worn by the god, and also by the charioteer and the horses. The god is figured standing on the four-horsed chariot, expressing the heroic sentiment, ready with his strung bow and an arrow with a crescent-shaped tip. The object held in the right hand of the charioteer to impel the horses, is curious. It resembles a goad rather than a whip. There is something behind the car, but unfortunately it is too indistinct to be recognised. Another striking point in the image is the disc encompassing the god and his chariot. In all probability this argument goes back to

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the figure of a wheel, which in India, as elsewhere, was one of the first symbols of the divine power of the sun that man has began to worship.[14]

The approximate date of the plaque can be determined with certainty. It was recovered at the same level (from a depth of 14', Kadamkuan, Patna) with the steatite disc or toy-wheel (Patna Museum No. 109) bearing an inscription in the oldest form of Aśoka script which gives the name of the owner Viṣākha. This level of habitation must therefore date back to Maurya times and may even be earlier.[15]

We have already discussed the iconographic significance of the image, seen on the bas-relief in the ancient cave at Bhaja (Pl. II). The simpler character of the image, rhythmic as well as vigorous, is so unlike anything known to exist in any cave, in any age, and so far as discoveries go, in any mythology, that one should pause before attempting to fix a date on a comparative ground.[16] Moreover, no inscription has been found in this cave which could be of help either by its contents or by the form of the letters. However, from the style of its composition it is certain that the cave belongs to a remote antiquity. Most remarkable among the sculptures in the cave is a figure on horse back provided with some sort of stirrups, which, as Dr. Coomaraswamy thinks, is "the earliest known instance in the world",[17] and Mr. Fergusson also states, "is it conceivable that if the Indian used stirrups in the third century before Christ, neither the Greeks nor the Romans took the hint and adopted them also? It is one of those inventions which, like printing with moveable types, seem only to require to be suggested to be universally adopted, but the evidence of all antiquity seems to be against the idea. The Nineveh sculptures seem to prove

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that their use was unknown in Assyria, and if they were used either in Greece or Rome it is most improbable that the keen eyes of antiquaries would not have detected evidence of their employment. All that it is necessary to state here, is that in so far as the evidence now available can be relied upon, it goes to establish the fact that the use of stirrups was known in India in the third century before Christ."[18]

This date (250 to 200 B.C.) is attributed to the cave by Fergusson and Burgess on the ground of its similarity with the Pitalkhora caves, where an inscription 'in the Maurya character' has been found.[19] But Sir John Marshall has assigned a later date (The first century B.C.) to the sculpture on account of its high relief and rounded forms.[20]

To show the mythological nature of the deities represented in the cave, we may quote Dr. Coomaraswamy before rounding off this description : "These are not personal deities conceived in the manner of Hindu theism, but powers personified in the Vedic hymns. The powers of nature are regarded only in the light of their relation to human welfare, and over all there hangs the dread of the tiger-haunted forest, the power of the storm, and the marvel of the sun that journeys through the air. None of this mystery appears in the orderly reliefs of Bharhut and Sāñcī, and only some trace of it in the far less accomplished art of Orissan caves."[21]

The Sūrya figure at Anantagumphā, Khaṇḍagiri, Orissa (Pl. III), somewhat resembles that at Bhaja. The position and dress of the god and his wives are nearly the same, but the arrangement of the chargers yoked to the chariot is different. It is interesting to note here that except the above mentioned

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two images (on the terra-cotta plaque and the relief at Bhaja), the same arrangement of the horses is seen in other images.

This cave is situated in a picturesque and well wooded hill khaṇḍagiri, which rises out of the level plains of the Delta of the Mahanadi, almost like an island from the ocean. This place must have been a seat of religious importance about the year 200 B.C., as Aśoka selected the Asvathāmā rocks, near Dhauli, about 6 miles South-east from the hill, to engrave one of the most complete and perfect sets of his series of edicts, and he hardly would have chosen so remote a corner of his dominions for this purpose, had the place not possessed some previous sanctity in the eyes of his co- religionists.[22] However, this single-storeyed cave, though small in size, is the most interesting, and could be taken as the prototype of all the more important caves excavated on this site. Over the doorways of this cave are ornamental arches enclosing various reliefs; in one, there is a standing figure of Lakṣmī supported by the usual elephants on lotus flowers;[23] in another, is the four horse chariot of the sun-god depicted *en face* with the crescent moon and stars in the field; in the third, are elephants; in a fourth, a railed-in tree and figures to left and right of it, bearing offerings in their hands, or posed in an attitude of prayer.[24] This subject appears to have been a favourite one in the last centuries B.C. We find the representation of Sūrya and Lakṣmī in much the same form over a railing pillar of Bodh Gaya.[25]

About the age of the cave there is difference of opinion among scholars. Fergusson is of opinion that the cave must be contemporaneous with the railing of the Bharhut Stupa (B.C. 200 to 150), on account of "the character of sculpture

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being nearly identical with those of the Bharhut Stupa. The frieze, for instance, consisting of a pyramid of steps, with a lotus between each[26] being common to both, is found no where else in the same form that I am aware of, nor in any other age".[27] But according to Sir John Marshall the cave comes second in the chronological order and can not be much earlier than the middle of the first century B.C.[28] Dr. coomaraswamy dates the cave between 150 and 50 B.C.[29] Evidently, however, the final conclusion, requires re-examination of the theories.

The sculptures represented in the cave are undoubtedly art products of the post-Mauryan period. "The chief characteristics of the post-Mauryan art are the continuance of the principal motifs borrowed from old Persian art, and the gradual disappearance of that wonderful polish, which differentiates the art of the early Maurya from that of the later period".[30] The carvings in the verandah bear a polish, but it is not so smooth and shiny as that of the Maurya period.

The great inscription of King Khāravela, on the ceiling of the Hāthi-gumphā however, helps us to assign a date to the cave with some precision. According to the latest theory of Mr. K.P. Jayaswal and Mr. R.D. Banerji,[31] the caves were excavated at the end of the 12th year of the reign of King Khāravela, viz. 170 B.C. Mr. Banerji thinks that this may refer to the great Rani Nur or Raninavara Gumpha to the east of the Hathigumpha,[32] which is, according to Sir John Marshall,[33] chronologically third in this group. So the Anantagumpha, which is placed second chronologically by the same scholar,[34] cannot be later than 170 B.C. As the empire of the Mauryas came to an end at about 185 B.C.,[35] the excavation of the cave may have taken place between 185 and 170 B.C.

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We have already discussed the controversial points of the image on a railing pillar at Bodh Gaya (Pl. IV).[36] Let us now turn our attention to the artistic and iconographical character of the image, which appears to be the first example of the canonical form of the Sūrya image. The god is represented, surrounded by the sun-disc, on a four-horse chariot under an umbrella, and attended by two female archers, Uṣas and Pratyuṣas of Hindu mythology. Just under their bows, there are two half visible male figures in añjali pose, outside the car, probably representing the personifications of the morning and the evening darkness, beseeching their favour. The most striking point in this image is the representation of an umbrella. According to the Mahābhārata (XIII, 96), this object was presented by the god to Jamadagni when Reṇukā was afflicted by his rays, and the Ṛṣi was ready to pierce him.[37] The umbrella is very prominent on the Lala Bhagat pillar, but in later art, it becomes more a sign of honour, or a thing of decoration, than an emblem of the god.

An earlier generation of antiquarians was inclined to assign the Bodh Gaya railing to the Maurya period,[38] but the late Dr. Theodor Bloch's careful examination found this view to be incorrect from the inscription incised on a portion of the railing. One of them reads : - *Āyāye Kuraṁgiye Dānam*, "The gift of the noble lady Kuraṁgī", and the other historically important inscription of the same time reads : - *Rāño Brahmamitrasya pājāvatiye Nāgadevāye dānam*, i.e. "The gift of Nāgadevā, the wife of king Brahmamitra." The noble lady Kuraṁgī of the first inscription was the wife of the king

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Indrāgnimitra, whose name is met with in a mutilated inscription on one of the railing pillars, where he appears to have had the title of "King", (*rāño*, gen. sg.) added before his name.[39] This King Indrāgnimitra, and Brahmamitra of the second inscription, are identical with the two kings of the same names, of whom a number of copper coins have been found in Northern India.[40] Probably both of them either belong to or were contemporaries of the Śunga kings, to whose time the erection of the Gateway of the Stupa of Bharhut is ascribed on the strength of an inscription engraved on that gateway. Evidently the older part of the Bodh Gaya railing was set up in the middle of the 2nd century B.C., about a century after the time of Aśoka.[41]

Now we will discuss the most interesting and unique arrangement of the sun-image seen on the Lala Bhagar pillar (Pl. V).[42] The shaft of the pillar is octagonal and one of the sides is elaborately carved in low relief almost throughout from top to bottom. The scenes represented are so singular that each of them requires a separate treatment.

In the uppermost relief on the shaft, there appears a couple of flying geese with a cylindrical object hanging from a pole. Lower down the sun-god is represented driving in a chariot drawn by four horses, trampling on the demon of darkness, and flanked by two female attendants, probably his two main wives, Rājñī and Nikṣubhā, with insignia of an umbrella. The scene is followed by three ladies of rank standing at ease representing his other wives, Uṣas and Praty-ūṣas on either side, and Chāyā in the centre. Next appears a grotesque group of thirteen nude dwarfs with disproportionately large hideous-looking faces and protuberant bellies. Probably they

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represent the "Thumb-sized" Vālakhilyas. They are seers, who guard the sun and live in the sun's disc and drink his rays.[43] They are also called Vaihāyasas.[44] From their arrangement, it appears that they are in a circle, in which the god is guarded with his wives and car. Immediately below we see a skilfully sculptured fan-tailed peacock in dancing attitude, and an elephant, walking on lotuses in various states of development. The last and lowest scene on the pillar, after a blank space of about eleven inches from the elephant, represents Gaja-Lakṣmī,[45] standing beside a pillar crowned with the figure of a cock. The graceful figure of the goddess is richly adorned with ornaments, and two small elephants, placed on lotus flowers one on either side, are pouring water from vessels held in their trunks. A corpulent dwarf with a bowl on his head is carved at the foot of the pilaster.[46]

The whole arrangement is so unusual that no explanation can claim to be more than a hypothesis. The representation of the flying geese, the dancing peacock, and the walking elephant on the pillar suggest that the pillar either meant to represent Sūrya and the goddess Lakṣmī as the source of rain, and accordingly of the welfare of Indian people, solely dependent on agriculture, or commemorates rain falling in abundance as a result of their worship.

According to the Saṁskṛt poets, the geese proceed to the lake Mānasa at the commencement of the rainy season.[47] The flying geese carved on the pillar seem to suggest the beginning of the rainy season when they are flying to the lake Mānasa with provision of lotus sprouts for the journey : *bisakisalayacchedapātheyavantaḥ*.[48] The peacock, dancing from joy at the

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coming of the rains is another favourite subject of Indian poets.[49] No one who happens to be in an Indian forest in the rainy season will fail to recognize the exciting dance of peacocks accompanied with Kekā (their melodious cry) on the appearance of the black clouds of the rainy season. Likewise, from early times the elephant has been regarded as one of the nine creative powers,[50] and identical with the rain-clouds.[51] Irāvat, the nourishing rain-cloud is personified as the celestial elephant of Indra, Airāvata, which draws up water from the underworld for Indra to rain.[52] It is still a common belief among the peasants of India that the elephant of Indra draws up water from the sea or rivers and pours it down in the shape of rain. In the Kathāsaritsāgara[53] it is mentioned that "the must elephant of wind began to rush, showering drops of rain like drops of ichor,...".

It is not only these details which lead us to our conclusion, but even Sūrya and Lakṣmī have always been considered as the source of rain and welfare. There are abundant evidences in Saṁskṛt literature : *ādityāj jāyate vṛṣṭiḥ;*[54] *śriyo vai parjanyo varṣati,*[55] where Sūrya and Lakṣmī are expressively referred to as to be the cause of rain.

The scenes on the pillar suggest that the pillar may have been erected in memory of a famine when the worship of the deities Lakṣmī and Sūrya saved the people from the calamity.

A special interest attaches to the cock-crowned pilaster combined with Lakṣmī, the goddess of abundance. From Hindu mythology we can quote no passage where the cock is associated with the goddess.[56] We venture to offer the following

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explanation : In Saṁskṛt the cock is called Uṣākara, the harbinger of Dawn,[57] the Uṣas, as we have seen, is regarded as a wife of Sūrya. Likewise, Śri and Lakṣmī as *ahorātra*, the day and night, are regarded as his wives; *Śriś ca te Lakṣmīśca patnyāvahorātra pārśve...*; [58] and according to the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa : *ahorātre vā Uṣā sā naktā*, 2,4, *ahorātra* is synonymous to Uṣas with *nakta*, the night.[59] Consequently it will not be too far-fetched to assume Śri or Lakṣmī as Uṣas. Thus the appearance of the cock-pillar with Lakṣmī, therefore, hints a remote antiquity when her indentity with Uṣas was not yet forgotten. In this connexion, it is of interest to note that a cock of red sand-stone (36" high) carved in the round,[60] was found about 18 feet from the domed chamber, where the pillar was kept. From the mortice between the legs, it appears that the cock was intended to be placed on the top of the pillar, in the same manner as we find it in the lowest relief on the shaft. It is surely an interesting addition to the figures of animals crowning the Aśoka pillars, namely the lion, the elephant, the bull, the wheel, and the horse, mentioned by Chinese pilgrim at Lumbini but not yet traced.[61]

Rai Bahadur Prayag Dayal assigns[62] the pillar on artistic and palaeographic grounds to about the first century B.C. There are two inscriptions, one on one of the shorter sides of the octagonal shaft to the left of the carved face, and the other to the right on the adjoining short side. They are in Brahmī characters of about the first century B.C. and the first one reads : *Kumāra vara*. We do not know, who this Kumāravara was. A terra-cotta figure of an early date and a copper coin of

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the Mathura Satrap Śoḍāśa of the first century B.C. found on the same mound, confirm the proposed date.[63]

Before we proceed to discuss the Mathura images (Pl. VI to XII), which come chronologically next, it seems necessary to say a few words about the development of the school.

The importance of the Mathura school in the history of Indian art can hardly be exaggerated, specially for tracing the history of development of the sun images in the early centuries of the Christian era. Owing to its religious significance, geographical position, and political importance, Mathura came into contact with three different streams of art which gave a new impetus to the course of its artistic activity. Its importance as a place of rèligious sanctity was already accepted centuries before the beginning of the Christian era.[64] We may assume that the chisels and brushes were employed by the faithfuls to give form to the objects of their faith. From the inscribed lion capital in the British Museum, it appears that the arts of architecture and sculpture were patronised by the Kṣatrapas, who ruled Mathura in the first century B.C.[65] With the beginning of the Christian era it came under the power of the warlike Śakas, who were in touch with Hellenistic, Iranian, and even Roman culture, and who introduced a new Iranian spirit into India. The first Kuṣāṇa king Kadphises I occupied N.W. India and Gandhāra, i.e., most of Afghanistan and the Punjab as far as Taxila, in about 50 A.D. The Kuṣāṇa dominion was extended by Kadphises II (A.D. 90-110) and Kaniṣka (ca. 120-160) certainly as far as Mathura and probably as far as Benares. The ancient seat of learning, Taxila flourished within easy reach of Kaniṣka's winter capital Puruṣapura (Peshawar), and

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his summer capital Kapiśā in Afghanistan. Kaśmīr, and the Ganges Valley as far as Bihar was also included in the Kuṣāṇa territory.[66]

This brief historical sketch will suffice to show that during the Kuṣāṇa epoch, especially during the reign of the great Kuṣāṇa rulers Kaniṣka, Huviṣka, and Vāsudeva, the art of Mathura could come into intimate contact with several indigenous and foreign schools of art, and thus achieved its perfection.

The Mathura school, consequently, shows itself a true descendant of Śuṅga art,[67] and the contemporary school of Gandhāra has ground also there[68] side by side with the continual development of the old Indian art of Bharhut and Sanchi,[69] and still older art of Besnagar.[70] The most important achievement of this school was the development of a new iconography in which the Buddha figure occupies a central position.[71]

The earliest sculptures, are made of white-mottled red sandstone of which the Mathura sculptures, Buddhist and Jain, are generally made and later sculptures are mostly made of buff-coloured sandstone.

In the preceeding chapter we have already pointed out the Kuṣāṇa elements in the sun images. The statues of the Kuṣāṇa kings and the earlier images of Sūrya have a striking resemblance in dress and as regards the boots, the sword and club held in their hands, and the squatting attitude. The high boots worn by the god are similar to those seen in the well-known statues of Kaniṣka, Vamatakṣuma, and Caṣṭana and

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the two unknown royal figures in a sculpture (No. 1559 of the Mathura Register) found in the Purānī Chāvanī, Sadar Bāzār, Mathura. The figure (Mathura Mu. No. 269)[72] probably represents (Pl. VIII) Kaniṣka or Kadphises II,[73] and is very similar in dress, attributes, and the sitting attitude, to the sun images of the Ma. M. Nos. 7, 930 (Pl. IX), 522, and the image in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.[74] The inscribed image of Kaniṣka[75] which is lamentably mutilated, holds a club in the right hand and a sword in the left. Both the sword and the club reach to the ground in this figure, but like other Kuṣāṇa statues the club in the sun images is not so long and is held upturned. All these facts lead us to the conclusion that in the early Kuṣāṇa period, Sūrya, probably was conceived of as a prince, and invested with the garments and attributes of contemporary royalty.

It is interesting to mention here that the development of the sun images of the Kuṣāṇa period represents a religious renaissance when the foreign spirit was slowly merging into the Hindu view of life. In the course of time supremacy of the Hindu mythology was felt and thus there came to be a representation of the deity which, though purely Hinduized, always retains a patronizing allusion to the foreign form. The red lotus flower *(padma)*, which blooms at sunrise, and is considered a symbol of purity; thus became an attribute of the god. Prof. Macdonell states,[76] "when this deity came to be represented in sculpture no more graphic symbol could have been chosen than two fully expanded lotuses which like sunflowers, resemble the solar disc."

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In other parts of the country, except South India, where the Āndhras held sway when the Kuṣāṇa power was dominant in Northern India[77] the sun image of the late Kuṣāṇa period is made with foot-wear, and with two lotuses, one held in each hand, and a sword attached to the girdle. Another important feature of this period is the two male attendants of the god. We have already marked that in the earliest known images of Sūrya, appear two female attendants simple and uncanonical, but on the railing pillar at Bodh Gaya, the same two goddesses, Uṣas and Pratyuṣas, are represented in canonical form, holding bow and arrow and chasing the demon of darkness. But in the later Kuṣāṇa images of Sūrya, sometimes, the places of two female attendants are taken by two stout and warlike male figures, Daṇḍin and Piṅgala of the Hindu mythology. This agrees well with the warlike nature of the Kuṣāṇa rulers. Gradually the four female attendants of the god of the early sculptures and the two male attendants of the Kuṣāṇa period, are combined and represented in the same sculpture while other deities connected with the god are added.

We will now try to describe some iamges of the Kuṣāṇa period in their chronological order. The earliest image of Sūrya from Mathura is, probably the slab (ht. 2'9" or 0 m. 834) D.46, of the Mathura Museum (Pl. X).[78] It was extracted from the Saptasamudri well, 3/4 mile south of the city. A corpulent figure of Sūrya is represented here squatting in a chariot drawn by four galloping horses. The figure is framed within a large sun-disc or nimbus, above the chariot, quite plain except for a few slender lines around its edge to indicate the rays. He

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wears a torque around his neck, and has long locks arranged in a peculiar fashion. He holds some object in both of his hands, probably a club and a sword, and wears a round cap, similar to that seen in the statue No. 269 of the Museum Register.[79] The most arresting feature of this image is the representation of small wings attached to its shoulders.[80] It is a unique example of this kind seen in India with an image of Sūrya. On the strength of its carving, Mr. Diskalkar assigns the image to the early Gupta period,[81] but I could not find anything in this image which could be taken as characteristic of that age.

Next come the image No. 7, of the M.M.,[82] and an image in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.[83] Both these images are made of cream sandstone and belong to the Kuṣāṇa period. The god is represented squatting, with raised knees, and holding a club in his right hand and a staff or sword in the left. He wears a conical cap, representing a Kulha, and a chain cuirass. The footwear or high boots are clear in the former example, but in the latter they are indistinct. The absence however of any indication of the toes tends to show that the feet are supposed to be covered. In both images the car is omitted, and of the four horses, two only are clearly shown, prancing to the right and the left, below the seated figure. From a lateral view it is evident that each of these horses represents a pair. The M.M. image has a floral nimbus which appears to be the earliest design of that sort. The deity wears the usual jewelery - earings, a necklace, bracelets, etc. The age of these images is also about the same, i.e., the first century or the first half of the second century A.D.

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There is a similar image of brass (Pl. XI) in the M.M. (No 522). It measures 8" in height, and was found in Brindaban in 1915. It seems to be a cast of the above mentioned image, probably belonging to the fifteenth or sixteenth century A.D.[84]

The image No. 930, (height 8 1/4") of the M.M. (Pl. IX) was found in 1915 in the Raniwala well at Palikhera. The god is seated squatting on a cushion with an indistinct object in his right hand, probably a lotus flower, and a staff or sword in the left. An attendant is standing at his right side. The figure is so badly worn that it is not possible to differentiate its sex, but its protuberant belly suggests a male. From Hindu mythology we know that the god has two male attendants, namely Daṇḍin and Piṅgala, and we may perhaps assume that the figure is Piṅgala. The corresponding attendant on the left side who may have been Daṇḍin has been lost. Both the remaining figures have a nimbus round their heads.[85]

Another fragmentary image of Sūrya (measuring 4" in height M.M. No. 888) was found in 1915 in a well at the village of Palikhera.[86] Sūrya is represented here between two female attendants, shooting arrows. He holds some unknown objects in his hands, raised to the shoulders.[87] The idea most probably was derived from the sun image in the railing pillar at Bodh Gaya; but except the large sun-disc behind the god, it resembles closely the sun image seen in the Kumbharwara cave at Elura.[88]

There is an interesting speciman of a Sūrya image from Mathura (M.M. No. 1258).[89] It is made of soapstone and dressed like a Sassanian king. Here the god has a beard and

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holds an object which, though mutilated appears to be the same emblem which is generally held by the sun-images of the later Kuṣāṇa-period. He has a sword at his left side, and a tunic with a kind of apron fringed with pearls. According to Mr. Vasudeva S. Agrawala "its age should coincide with the reigns of Shapur II and his successors, Ardashir II and Shapur III, i.e., between 309 and 386 A.D.,"[90] but from its style it seems to me that the image can not be assigned to a later date than the end of the third century, i.e., the late Kuṣāṇa period.

There are some five large images of Sūrya of the late Kuṣāṇa or early Gupta period in the Mathura Museum : Nos. 123, 124, 122, and 545. Except the number of horses, which is seven, they resemble the above mentioned image (D 46) in the rest of their composition. The horses are arranged there three on each side and one in the centre, facing front, with the figure of Aruṇa above the central horse. The description, of these images, by Mr. Diskalkar is as follows :[91]

"No. 123 is a red-sandstone sculpture preserved in a very bad state. It was found in 1910 in the Sanora village and measures 4'5" in height including the tenon below and 3'2" in breadth. It contains two panels. In the upper one Sūrya is seated cross-legged in the fashion of the Buddha figure with his two hands raised to the shoulder and holding lotus flowers supported by four Corinthian pillars. The head of the Sūrya, as also the upper portion of the sculpture, is lost. Sūrya wears two necklaces in the neck, a thick chord round the waist and anklets. The figure probably wears a *dhotī*. Between two pillars at either end of the panel stands a female figure with the right hand raised to the shoulder and holding probably a *chauri* and

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the left hand resting in the thigh. In front of each of the two female figures are seated on a separate stool two figures probably male and female in amorous attitude. In the centre of the space between two panels is seated in an arch Aruṇa with his right hand raised to the shoulder and the left resting on his hip. In the lower panel are seven horses, three on each side and one in the centre facing front."

"No. 124 is also a red-sandstone sculpture too much damaged specially by people sharpening tools on it. It was found in 1910 and measures 4'11" and 2'10" in breadth. It also contains two panels. The upper one is in the form of a temple with two Corinthian pillars crowned by a figure in the form of a stupa. There are railings partly visible in the top and bottom of the panel. In the centre is the Sūrya figure seated squatting with a tall *mukuṭa* on the head. As the figure is pitiably damaged, it is difficult to give its description in detail. Only the ornament in the left ear and the feet are preserved. The pedestal of the upper panel has three sides. In the proper right are the head of a lion and a standing worn-out male (?) figure with left hand resting on the waist. In the lower panel there are seven horses in galloping attitude with their faces slightly turned to the left. Behind them is shown only the upper part of a worn-out figure above waist, which may probably represent Aruṇa, the charioteer of the Sūrya. Behind this figure are two standing figures with a canopy of the hood of a serpent probably representing Nāga and Nāgī figures. All these figures are slightly turned to the left."

Before we proceed to deal with the sun images of the Kuṣāṇa period found in Gandhāra, it is important to note the

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surprising character of the two contemporary art schools, the indigenous school of Mathura and the Graeco-Indian school of Gandhāra, which achieved their highest artistic development under the same Kuṣāṇa patronage, without coming under the direct influence of each other. Of course, it was not possible that two such flourishing art schools could produce works during a period of more than two centuries without leaving any distinct trace of mutual contact. There are some sculptures in Mathura art showing Indo-Greek influence; and the Indianisation of Gandhāra art was surely due to its intimate contact with the interrelated art of Mathura, which began towards the end of the Kuṣāṇa period, and which continued in Gupta times. But both maintain their own individuality. Mathura, as we have already seen, owing to its religious sanctity was a place of attraction to the Hindu activities; and its art, though it was inspired to a certain extent by foreign technique, always remained Indian both in nature and structure. On the other hand the Graeco-Buddhist art of Gandhāra, though devoting its genius to giving form to Buddhist pity, practically retained its Hellenistic character.

What was the reason of this indifference? In answer we can only suggest the political circumstances of the country. Although Gandhāra is often mentioned in Saṁskṛt literature, the information we possess regarding its history is singulaly meagre, and is mainly based on the accounts of Greek and Chinese writers. In the famous inscription of Darius (c. 516 B.C.) at Behistun, Gandhārians appear among his subject people, distinct from Hindus, the people of the Indus valley.[92] But, apart from this fact, nothing is known of its history prior

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to the invasion of Alexander the Great. The army of Alexander entered the Peshawar Valley in the cold weather of 322-326 B.C., and captured its capital Puṣkarāvatī, the modern Charsadda, which was ruled by a rājā, named by the Greeks, Astes.[93] Greek rule did not last there longer than ten years. After the death of Alexander the Great, Seleucus Nicater made himself the sovereign of his Asiatic empire, and emulating the Great Macedonian, attempted to invade India, but was checked by an Indian prince, Chandragupta Maurya, to whom in treaty he had to cede Gandhāra. Thus for the first time (so far as pure historical facts go) Gandhāra came under an Indian empire, and had a chance to come into contact with Indian culture and art. But having been under power of western rulers for more than three centuries it could not absorb the Indian spirit. Notwithstanding this the great Indian emperor Aśoka spared no pains in introducing the universal brotherhood of Buddhism. On the Shahbazgarhi Rock his Edicts were incised, and as Siṅhalese chronicle records, the Buddhist apostle Madhyantika was sent there, who converted the people of Gandhāra and Kaśmir in about 256 B.C.[94]

But soon after the death of Aśoka, c. 231 B.C., the empire of Magadha began to lose its strength, and Gandhāra being one of most remote provinces, was able once again to assert its independence, only to fall an easy prey to the Greco-Bactrian rulers who were thoroughly Greek in sentiment and religion. In the beginning of the first century B.C. the country again resounded with the battle drums of Śakas and remained under their power until the middle of the first century A.D., when they were driven out by the Kuṣāṇas.

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Thus for more than four centuries Gandhāra remained under the sway of Greek culture. Maurya rule was too short to exercise any permanent influence. It is true, that Buddhism which was introduced by the great emperor Aśoka, flourished there, and under the zealous patronage of the Kuṣāṇa rulers, its spirituality in harmony with Greek intellectuality could create a considerable amount of sensitiveness and refinement in art. No doubt the Buddhist artists of Gandhāra succeeded in infusing into their sacred images such definition of form as their intellectuality required, and such spiritual character as was capable of expression.

The cause of the indifference to each other of these two art schools was the radically dissimilar temperament of the two peoples and the environment in which they developed. The Mathura school was a product of Indian vision which was bounded by immortal and infinite, and was inspired by spiritual and emotional thoughts. But the case with Greek art was quite different. The key note of Hellenistic culture was intellectualism. This intellectual faculty was strictly limited to the measure of the human mind; it focussed itself on man and on all that appertained to man. There is no mystery, no vagueness, nothing supernatural or emotional. Man is the measure of all things - - - even of the gods themselves. The definition of Greek divinities is a human definition - - - man idealised it may be, but nothing more. This was the reason that it could awake no response in the Indian mind.[95] Let us now consider the sun images found in this part of the country, as the aesthetical and other important points of this school have often been elaborately discussed by scholars.

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The figure G 58, of the Indian Museum (Pl. XIII) is generally accepted as an image of Sūrya, though the horns of a crescent behind the sitting figure make the composition rather complicated. It is a small image, measuring 8 inches in height with a maximum breadth of about 5". The boat-shaped chariot is placed on the rearing horses, the hind legs and tails of which constitute its only support. The horses are well saddled and have small wings[96] at the joint of their front legs, and a round sign on their hips, probably meant for tokens of good luck.[97] In the centre of the car the god is shown seated on a cushioned dais, with his left foot resting on the front of the chariot, and the right leg crossed over his left knee. The head and both the arms of the figure are unfortunately broken off. He wears a *dhoti* with folds treated in the Hellenistic style, and his left shoulder is covered with an upper garment. On his neck there is a torque and also a necklace. The god is framed under a large disc, over which the horns of a crescent rise up behind his shoulder. A female figure[98] stands on the left hand of the chariot, but unfortunately, the head and the right arm, which has been raised, have been broken off, but the left arm remains, and rests akimbo. The figure in all likelihood held a *chauri*. The feet of a smaller figure exist on the other side. The front legs of all the horses are broken off, but the heads remain, more or less injured. Below the hind feet of the horses, there is a rather well carved, nearly nude, partially kneeling or crouching male figure looking up as if he were afraid he would be crushed beneath the horses' feet, and, on either side of this figure, there are the remains of the feet of two other figures. Can it be that this kneeling figure represents the demon of darkness, placed between Uṣas and Pratyuṣas, as seems to be the case on the Lala Bhagat pillar?[99] Whatever the subject may

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be, the sculpture has decided Greek affinities and consequently can be assigned to the early Gandhāra period.[100]

A similar image appears on one of the capitals of Gandhāra pillars and, pilasters preserved in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, No. 242 of the Catalogue of the Museum by N.G. Majumdar.[101]

There is another image of Sūrya found in a small village mound, called Akhun Dheri, situated about 12 miles to the north of Charsadda, the ancient Peukelaotis of Puṣkarāvatī. It is the only example of this kind yet discovered in this part of the country. It measures about 6 3/4 inches in height and 6 1/4" in width, and is made of the well-known travertine which is common material of the Graeco-Buddhist sculptures of Gandhāra. The image has three heads and evidently six arms. The head to the proper right represents that of Viṣṇu or Sūrya, and the corresponding one on the other side exhibits that of Brahman with his grisly beard. The central figure undoubtedly is that of Śiva, leaning against his wellknown vehicle, the bull. Two of the arms of the image are unfortunately damaged, and of the attributes in the remaining four only three are more or less distinct. The upper right arm holds what looks like a trident, while the upper and lower left arms carry a small drum (skt. *ḍamaru*) and a water vessel (skt. *kamaṇḍalu*) respectively. Just over the left shoulder there is something which looks very similar to a open lotus flower, it might be the object belonging to the uppermost left hand. The object above the uppermost right shoulder unfortunately is badly damaged, but it might be a supplementary lotus, which evidently would complete the composition of Sūrya in this sculpture. The front figure, i.e.,

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Śiva, has a long *jaṭā-mukuṭa*, and the trace of the frontal eye is also visible. He wears earrings, necklace, bracelets, sacred thread, *yajñopavīta*, and *dhoti*. Scarf covers only the left shoulder, as is common in Gandhāra sculptures.[102]

The image has affinity with the figure seen in the coins of Vāsudeva Kuṣāṇa,[103] evidently the date of the image may be assigned to about the beginning of the third century A.D.[104] There are representations of the sun-god on the relic-casket of Kaniṣka (Pl. XIV), and on the Kuṣāṇa coins.[105]

A most striking figure of Sūrya (Pl. XV) is discovered by the French Archaeological Mission to Afghanistan, in the vast painting that covers the vault over the head of the smaller of the two colossal Buddhas at Bamiyan.[106]

The god is represented here in a long cloak standing in a four- horse chariot : he carries a sceptre and has a sword attached to his belt; behind him is a light halo, its lower half filled by the drapery of the blue veil worn by the god over his mantle. The dark red nimbus is bordered on its rim by jagged "dog teeth" or rays; inside its lower circumference is a thin crescent painted in yellow. The whole composition is framed in a bank of fiery red clouds and outlined against a background of deep ultramarine blue. Above the main figure appear female busts with scarves held spread over their heads, and flying geese. Below the principal deity are two winged female figures with helmet, shield, and spear. A year ago traces of the actual driver of the chariot standing on the pole were still visible. At the lower part of the composition, between wheels that resemble deep shields in profile, one can make out four winged horses; they are rearing and charging in two pairs on either

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side of the tongue of the car. The steeds are painted with red outlines, and their small, leafshaped pinions are scarlet, too.

Another figure of the sun-god in a painting was discovered in Afghanistan, by the same mission, in 1937 in the little Valley of Fondukistan, some three miles to the south of Siyahgird, midway between Kabul and Bamiyan.[107]

The figure of the sun-god, with pallid face, wears a nimbus in which the orb and crescent of the moon are combined; crescents are also inserted in his diadem. He is clad in a long, close- fitting tunic with two lapels and high-boots apparently made of tiger skin. He holds a sword with a long straight handle and a buckler. The solar deity, whose face is mutilated, has a nimbus in the form of a red disk. He wars a cuirass over a coat of mail, a curious apron covering his thighs and high boots. His right hand holds the handle of a mace, his left grasps the hilt of a long sword with decorated sheeth.

It is worth noticing in this connection that a figure of Sūrya with severe horse chariot and the charioteer Aruṇa, is seen in the *mukuṭa* of a Bodhisattva image in Gandhāra.[108]

We will now describe an interesting image of Sūrya (Pl. XVI) discovered at Khaira Khaneh, Afghanistan, in 1934, by the French Archaeological Delegation under the directorship of Mr. J. Hackin of the Musée Guimet, Paris. The Director has published a vivid description of the image in the pages of the "Recherches archéologiques au col de khair Khaneh".[109]

"The god is seated in European style with legs apart, the forearms reposing on the thigh, the hands are broken above the wrists. The legs and the thighs appear to be singularly

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reduced in dimension if one compares them with the torso and with the head. The head alone represents about one-fifth of the whole of the body; proportions are very decadent (canon of Polycletus 1/7, canon of Lysippus 1/8).

"The physiognomy of the central figure presents singular details : the angle made by the arch of the eye-sockets, being abnormally oblique, makes a triangle with the low retreating forehead. The eyes which are even with the head and very far apart, are "almond-shaped". The nose is slightly curved, the mouth large and well drawn, the square chin clearly projects. The long locks separated by a middle parting, are arranged in short curls carefully dressed. The drooping curls cover the greater part of the ears of which only the lobes, laden with heavy ornaments, are visible. The diadem is adjusted by means of a band partially ornamented with big crude gems of rectangular shape separated by thin metal slips. On either side of the head, jsut where the gem ornaments stop, the hand forms two puffed knots; behind the head it is disposed in a cord ornament, which deftly brings the two extremities together forming a slip and falling vertically along the back, marked by a slight undulation. The diadem is composed of triangular ornaments alternating with half-opened lotus flowers of which five petals are visible. An arched row of pearls encloses the body of the diadem. The powerful torso is clad in a tunic without any collar, leaving the neck bare. The lower part of the tunic is mostly hidden by the scarf, hanging down from the arms of the god. Its border, however, consisting of a row of pearls is still visible. The cut of the tunic is practically identical with that of the vestments worn by the two acolytes; the lower part which is rounded in form is characteristic. The ornaments consist of a necklace, composed of big pearls over a double necklace, from

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which a reliquary is suspended. Large rectangular gems disposed on a raised setting which are placed vertically and are fixed on the girdle, two rows of pearls which are arranged on both sides of these gems, a border of pearls decorating the ends of the sleeves of the tunic, and heavy bracelets, complete the sumptuous ornaments of the god. The girdle decorated with gems is placed below the waist, its ends arranged in a knot are slipped through a ring. The scarf, as we have seen above rests on the forearms and covers the lower portion of the tunic. The boots closely resemble those worn today by the Uzbegs and the Turks of Central Asia. The real boot of soft leather without a sole is attached to a shoe which must be removed before entering the inner apartments. In the present case these shoes are fastened to the feet by means of a running ribbon fixed with a jewelled buckle, the ends of the ribbon hanging down on both sides of the shoes. It should be noted that a row of pearls encircles the upper verge of the boot and the same kind of ornament runs vertically along the shaft of the boot corresponding to the apex of the tibia; it is prolonged as far as the ends of the shoes.

"The two attendants are shown standing in a singular attitude. The lower part of the body is contorted in consequence of the slanting position of the torso, leaning towards the right in the case of the attendant on the right and to the left in the case of the other. The weight of the body rests all the more heavily on the carrying leg as the leaning position of these figures is emphasized by a strong inclination of the head.

"The attendant to the proper right possesses abundant hair. The beard in its stylized meshes exhibits the same treatment as the hair. The art of Gandhāra and Central Asia

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abounds in representations of barbarians with moustaches and beards of a similar type. In Central Asia the meshes of the beard show a purely decorative treatment clearly derived from the slightly stylized meshes of the Gandhāran types. The nose is curved. The eyes are large but less protruding than those of the solar deity. The circular ear-pendants are decked with pearls. The figure wears a conical cap prolonged by means of neck-protectors. The tunic resembles that of the god by virtue of its peculiar cut and its pearl outlining. On the shoulders hangs a light mantle whose ends are held by a ring on the breast. The right arm is raised, and the right hand with closed fingers holds a kind of truncheon at the height of the shoulder, its lower part being visible against the palm. The left hand is gathered against the breast and holds a book-leaf of rectangular form. The figure wears trousers and boots without ornaments. The attendant to the left is beardless; his hair is aranged in small curls like that of the god. His headdress is a kind of mitre with ear pieces adorned with two lotus-flowers. His dress is exactly like that of the attendant on the right. His left forearm rests on a shield rounded at the top and provided with a checquered decoration. His right hand holds a parade-spear whose blade is adjusted on a circular ornament and is decorated with grooves which produce a foliated aspect.

"The three figures stand on a cornice ornamented with three fillets separated by two grooves. This entablature slightly recedes in the centre (long OM O4, prof. OM O1). This depression is occupied by the head of a person with a smooth (hairless) face decked with a kind of turban. He is shown in full face. The naked torso, the only part which is visible, emerges from a projection of the chariot treated in a strange manner. This figure brandishes a whip and holds firmly in his

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left hand at the height of the waist, the reins restraining the two rearing horses, represented in profile on both sides of the charioteer. It should be observed that the heads and the forefeet of the horses are directed towards the edge of the group; in this manner the sculptor has avoided the horses projecting and thus being liable to breakage. It is to be noted that the horses are not yoked to the car but simply saddled. The saddle is combined with a tree, saddle -bow, garnished with a leather facing with checquered decoration and a border of small squares. It rests on a numnaa adorned with a row of pearls in the case of the right side horse, and with little rectangular gems with jewel points in that of the horse on the left side. The saddle is fastened by a girth with chequered decoration; it is kept in position by the breast-plate and the crupper. The bridle is adorned with a tuft of horsehair. The horses' manes are carefully carved. Between the hind-quarters of the horses there projects a sort of block with octagonal sides, the purpose of which it is difficult to explain; it is possible but not very probable that it is a peculiar rendering of the one-wheeled chariot of the solar deity".[110]

For dating the monument above described we have to depend entirely on comparison. By comparing the tunic, boots and headdress of the god and the attendants with those of the Sassanian kings we can arrive at a sufficiently close dating. The three Sassanian kings, Shapur II (309-379 A.D.), Ardashir II (379-383 A.D.) and Shapur III (383-388 A.D.), who appear on the bas-relief of Taq-i-Bostan, have robes of a similar cut. It appears certain that the sleeves of the tunics worn by the kings are sown with rows of pearls. The royal personage represented on the silver plate of the Sassanian period, in the Hermitage Museum of Leningrad,[111] is a good specimen for

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comparison. The peculiar head-dress of Shapur III, which differentiates him from his predecessors and successors, is strikingly similar in ornmentation and form to that of the god. Thus the date of the monument must be closer to his reign, just before the destructive invasion of the White Huns, i.e., the beginning of the 5th century A.D.[112]

The terra-cotta A.18, Old Catalogue No. 777, (ht. 1'2", width 1'1") of the Delhi Museum of Archaeology, represents an interesting figure of Sūrya. The god is shown seated on an ornamented cushion under an arch, with the soles of his feet touching one another. Except for the nose, which is broken, the sculpture is well preserved. The god has a circular halo and long curly locks, and wears an ornamented head-dress and heavy earrings. There is a sectarian mark *(Tilaka)* on his fore- head, though mutilated, sufficiently visible. He holds in each hand a palm-leaf (?) raised against his shoulder. His body is clad in a close-fitting tunic, ornamented with a row of button- like bosses round the neck, and from the neck down to the waist. He wears a plain girdle round his loins and boots without heels.[113]

There is an inscription, in the lower, proper left corner of the sculpture, reading *"Āditya"*, another name of Sūrya. On the style of the character of the inscription, scholars assign the sculpture to the seventh or eighth century. But if we compare the sculpture with the sun image seen on the carved architrave at Garhwa, which we shall discuss later, the modelling and the style of ornamentation lead us to believe that the present image must have priority to the latter. It is not possible to assign any definite date only on the strength of the style of three letters,

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and moreover, if we compare them with later Kuṣāṇa or early Gupta characters they do not differ much.

This terra-cotta is said to originate from Sonepat in the Delhi district, and is mentioned by Mrs. F.A. Steel in her book "India through the Ages".[114] She states[115] that her information is derived from the following note in Balfour's Cyclopaed ia of India, p. 708 : "A little image near here (Sonepat) turned up in December 1864 when sinking a well. It is of clay, baked and polished like Chunār pottery. The figure is seated cross-legged, with a club in each hand. General Cunningham has read this inscription and supposes this idol to be an Āditya or image of the sun. The age of it he thinks to be about 1200 years; this agrees with the period of the seventh century". Prof. Vogel, when visiting Sonepat on January 27th, 1910, obtained the information that 30 to 40 years ago broken idols (but) of stone had been found in a well on the kota, i.e., the highest part of the town.

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4

GUPTA AND MEDIAEVAL SUN - IMAGES

In the beginning of the fourth century A.D. when Kuṣāṇa rule came to an end in the North and the contemporary Āndhra dynasty lost its sovereignty in the South, a great epoch in Indian art had ended, but a still greater and most important period of artistic activity sprang into being under the Imperial Gupta Empire. In 319-'20 A.D. a prince of Pāṭaliputra, Candragupta I, founded the illustrious Gupta dynasty, and made himself the ruler of Magadha. His son Samudragupta extended the empire, and conquered Southern India. Candragupta II, the legendary Vikramāditya, drove out the Śaka rulers of Surāṣṭra and added Mālawā and Ujjain to his kingdom. For more than four centuries Northern India enjoyed the patronage of the Guptas, though after 500 A.D. the Gupta Empire was but a shadow of its original greatness as the result of the devastating Hun invasions.

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The Gupta epoch, as it is commonly referred to by scholars, was the golden age of India, when she experienced her greatest creative activity, apparent in every direction. In the political field the imperial idea, dormant since the age of the Mauryas, reached its perfection and led to the foundation of the great Gupta Empire. In the religious sphere it brought the revival of Brahmanism along with its sacred language, Saṁskṛta. It was during this period that Kālidāsa wrote his immortal plays; that the Purāṇas were compiled, and that mathematics and astronomy reached their highest perfection; and the Law Book of Manu took its present form. In short, it was in the Gupta period that the harmony of spirituality and intellectualism became the medium of a conscious and explicit expression of spiritual conceptions.

This new spirit, however, affected art as much as anything else. The horizon of art vastly widened, and the technique achieved its highest perfection. The human form now became the main objective for the artists, not for the sake of its inherent beauty, but for the sake of the deeper mental and spiritual qualities that are latent in it. The best Gupta pieces exhibit the magnificence of the early indigenous art and unrestrained ornament of Dravidian fancy, but always with sensitive understanding, logical in proportion and balance, and thoughtful in composition and rhythm. Moreover, the great achievement of the Gupta school is the standardization of iconographic types and compositions, which were variable in the Kuṣāṇa period, and which influence was felt not only over the length and the breadth of India proper and Ceylon but far beyond the confines of the whole of the Middle and Far East.

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The main characteristics of the Gupta art are, the introduction of the Vyālaka on both sides of seated deities, the floral nimbus, curly and long locks, resembling a wig, (except in Buddha figures), flying celestial being, and the stylized *jaṭāmukuṭa*.

Let us now turn our attention to the sun images of this period which have been brought to notice. From inscriptions we know that there existed temples of Sūrya at Indor in the Bulandshahr District, at Mandasor, Āśramaka, Gwalior, Deo-Baranarka, and at Shahpur[1] but unfortunately, from none of the places, except the one last mentioned, which also afterwards disappeared, has any image of Sūrya been recovered. The earliest sun image of the Gupta period, known to me, occurs on a frieze of architrave (Pl. XVII) found at Garhwa.[2] This architrave is made of pink sandstone of a much finer grain than the grey sandstone of the later works, and measures 13 feet 3 1/2 inches in length by 10 3/4 inches in height. It is broken into three pieces. On the extreme left end of the sculpture, we have Sūrya enclosed within the orb of the sun, on the car with his seven galloping horses. He wears a high head-dress and ear-rings and the object in his hands though weather-worn resembles the palm (?), which is generally held by the god during the Kuṣāṇa period. He is attended by two female archers (Uṣas and Pratyuṣas) on each side, shooting arrows downwards. All traces of his coat-of-mail and the boots have disappeared owing to the action of the weather.

It appears from the inscriptions that Garhwa flourished for about eight centuries, from the fifth to the twelfth; but the architrave in question with its remarkably bold and deep

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carvings and graceful and easy attitude of the figures, must certainly belong to the period of Guptas; most probably it is contemporaneous with the Garhwa Stone Inscription of Candragupta II of the year 407-'08 A.D.[3]

Another interesting example of a sun image of the Gupta period is found on a panel of the ruined Śiva temple at Bhumara.[4] These panels are of the class usually called Caitya windows; they have a pointed semicircular projection on the top and a leaf-like projection on each side. In the centre there is a circular medallion containing a sunken panel, which in each and every case contains the figure of a deity. The edge of this medallion, as well as the edge of the entire panel, is ornamented by a single row of beads, between parallel lines. The space between the medallion and the perimeter of the panel is occupied by arabesque work.[5]

The panel No. 29, which is unfortunately broken into two pieces, represents an early Gupta specimen of the sun-image. The god is standing on a full-blown lotus, having a plain halo behind his head. He has apparently long curly hair and wears a tall cylindrical head-dress. In his left hand he holds a lotus while the right hand is damaged. He wears high boots of soft leather and a long coat, tied at the waist with a sash. A scarf hangs down artistically from his shoulders to the knees. He is attended by two male satellites, who like him also wear peculiarly long Scythian coats tied round the waist with a belt, and high boots. Their tall conical caps are singularly Scythian. The figure on the proper left holds a lance or spear in his right hand while the object in the right hand of the right figure is not distinct. But the position of his two hands suggests the

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possibility of the representation of pen and ink-pot, as is common with Piṅgala[6] in later images.

While comparing the Śiva temple at Bhumara with the so-called temple of Pārvatī at Nachanā-Kuthāra in the Ajaigarh State, the late Mr. Banerji concludes : "The agreement in the measurements and in the general plan of both of these temples and the nature of the carvings discovered at both places indicate that both of these temples belong to the same date, probably the middle of the 5th century A.D., but according to Sir John Marshall, (the then) Director General of Archaeology in India, the temple at Bhumara belongs to the sixth century.[7]

There is an interesting image of Sūrya of the Gupta period in the Mathurā-Museum (No. 595), which was found in 1915 at the Ghosna Khera (Pl. XVIII). It is carved of red sandstone and measures 8 1/2" in height and 4 1/4" in breadth. Though the figure is somewhat water-worn, it still retains something of its original beauty. The image was first entered in the Museum Register as a Bodhisattva and if it were not for the boots, there would seem to be some justification in such an interpretation.

It is a standing figure with both hands raised to the shoulders but broken at the wrists. The god is decorated with a high and ornamental *mukuṭa* and heavy ornaments in his elongated ears as is usual in the Bodhisattva figures of the early Gupta period : He wears a necklace round his neck, and the upper garment which is held up on both his arms hangs down in folds below the knees as far as the hem of the lower garment. Its two ends are seen falling on the shoulders of the two attendants on either side of Sūrya. The lower garment

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reaching below the knees is held up by means of a flat waist-band. His head is surrounded by a circular halo, which is a little mutilated on the proper right side. The god wears high boots, and the two diminutive attendant figures standing on his two sides, also seem to wear the same. The atendant on the right raises his right hand in the *abhayamudrā* (?) while the left hand rests on the waist-band. He wears ear- rings and a necklace, and his head is covered with a high matted head-dress. The folds of his *dhoti* are seen between his feet. The figure on the left holds in his right hand a lance or spear, and his left hand rests on his waist. His head-dress seems to be conical in shape.[8]

An inscribed image of Sūrya of this period was discovered in 1879 on a mound at Shahpur[9] by Mr. J.D.M. Beglar, then Assistant to the Director General of the Archaeologycal Survey. It was first brought to notice in the A.S.I. Vol. XV. p. 12, but in 1884 when Dr. Fleet sent his copyists to copy the inscription engraved on the image, they could not find the image, nor could they obtain any information as to what had become of it.

It was "a standing image of the sun, -- represented as a man, 2'10" high, holding a waterlily (sic. ? lotus) in each hand; and with, on each side, a small standing figure, that on the right being armed with a club."[10]

"The inscription (on the image) refers itself to the time of Ādityasena, of the family of the Guptas of Magadha. Its date, in numerical symbols, is the year sixty-six, on the seventh ? day of the bright fortnight of the month Mārga, i.e., Mārgaśira or Mārgaśīrṣa (November - December). The era is not specified;

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but from the known facts of Ādityasena's history, it is that of the Harṣavardhana of Kanauj, commencing A.D. 606 or 607; and the result for this date, therefore, is A.D. 672 - 73."[11]

Another interesting image of Sūrya was found about half a mile to the east of the village of Mandor, in Jodhpur State, Rajputana. The relief is cut in a rock and consists of a rectangular niche about 2 1/2' high and 2' wide, with an elaborate ornamental border all round, in which is a four armed figure sitting cross-legged. All the four hands, however, are broken, and it is not possible to identify the figure with certainty. The style of the carving indicates the 7th or 8th century as the date of the relief.[12]

We have already mentioned that the Hun invasion of the fifty century had weakend the empire of the Guptas, but about 528 A.D. the Huns under Mihiragula, were definitely defeated by Bālāditya, a later Gupta prince, and the dynasty survived in Magadha till 720 A.D.[13] Although from the fifth century the Guptas had to divert their energy more to war than to art, the famous monasteries and Buddhist seat of learning of Nalanda were at the zenith of their glory in the seventh century.[14] We may conclude that artistic activity promoted by the illustrious Guptas was then still in full vigour. During the first half of the seventh century, it was patronized by Harṣavardhana of Thanesar (Sthāṇvīśvara) and Kanauj (606-647),[15] who ruled over the greater part of northern India down to the Narmadā, the boundary of the Cālukya dominions of his adversary Pulakeśin II (608-642), Harṣa, erected magnificent temples for the service of each of the three deities, Śiva, Sūrya, and Buddha, of his family.[16] The popularity of Solar worship in

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northern India most probably owes a great deal to his rule. In 635 A.D. he made himself master of Valabhī, the seat of a dynasty which had long been reigning in Surāṣṭra (Kathiawad), Sind and Gujrat,[17] which were also great seats of solar worship. In this connection it is worthy of note that sun- worship has never been favoured with royal patronage in the South, while in the North it has often been more or less a state religion since the beginning of the Christian era. Probably this is the reason why there are so few images of Sūrya in Southern India, none of them being earlier than the seventh century A.D.

Sun images of the mediaeval period are found all over Northern India, but nowhere is their number comparable to the output of the eastern provinces, especially of Bihar and Bengal.

In the post-Gupta period, beginning from the seventh century A.D., these two provinces formed the kingdom of Gauḍa. Here the Eastern School of Sculpture flourished, while in upper India figure sculpture began to decline and lose its spiritual meaning.[18] But this artistic activity was disturbed in the early part of the eighth century, when Yaśovarman, the king of Kanauj, invaded Magadha (South Bihar) and killed the reigning king of Gauḍa. This calamity caused a period of anarchy which came to an end when Gopāla, a native of northern Bengal (varendri or Varendra) founded the Pāla dynasty, which held sway over this extensive area for nearly four centuries. The reign of Dharmapāla, the successor of Gopāla, covers the transition from the eighth to the ninth century. The workmanship of this period is much rougher than that of the preceeding and following epochs, and consequently it is unsafe to draw any far-reaching deductions, or to base

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any elaborate theories.[19] But the reign of his successor, Devapāla, is an important epoch of eastern art which then regained much of its early glory, both in inspiration and originality. Tārānātha in his history of Buddhism tells us : "In the time of king Devapala there lived in Varendra (Northern Bengal) an exceedingly skilful artist named Dhiman, whose son was Bitpalo, both of these produced many works in cast-metal, as well as sculptures and paintings which resembled the work of the Nagas. The father and son gave rise to distinct schools. In paintings the followers of the father were called the Eastern School, those of the son, as they were most numerous in Magadha (Bihar), were called followers of the Madhyadesha School of painting. So in Nepal the earlier school of art resembled the old Western school; but in the course of time a peculiar Nepalese school was formed, which in painting and casting resembled rather the Eastern type."[20]

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After the death of Devapāla the Pāla dynasty began to lose its sovereignty[21] and in the course of the tenth century it sank to a low ebb, when the Tibetans invaded and occupied Northern Bengal.[22] This new contact, however, affected the artistic activity of the country, though "The palaeographical examination of the inscribed specimens in the Indian Museum proves further that the decline of artistic activity in the Eastern provinces in the ninth and the tenth centuries was not parallel with the decline in the political fortunes of the Pāla Kings. In these two centuries also the artists of Eastern Bengal were much more active than those of Northern and Western Bengal. The specimens from the Eastern provinces of Northern India, which can be definitely assigned to the 9th and 10th centuries A.D., come from Magadha or South Bihar and Dacca District of Eastern Bengal only. The vigour of expression and correct-

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ness of delincation of the 9th century is absent in the tenth but we do not as yet find the preponderance of hard and fast rules of the school, which begins in the Eastern school of sculpture only from the end of the 10th century onward".[23]

Late in the tenth century, however, Bengal found a mighty ruler in Maīpāla I, who drove out the Tibetans and recovered the kingdom of his ancestors. His reign was an epoch of artistic renaissance, when a serious effort was made to restore the glory of early art. It is curious that the new style though it is free from the clumsiness and mediocrity of the later part of the ninth century, adheres rigidly to the Śilpa-śāstras for reproduction of the ideal beauty of form. Pro bably it was necessary to restrict the exaggerated symbolism and unproportionate figuring of the late ninth century; though we must admist that lack of freshness made the art stiff and cloying.

About the beginning of the twelfth century the Pāla dynasty lost the remnant of its glory, and was succeeded by the Senas, "With the rise of the Senas and the last attempt of the Pālas to reassert their authority over the lost provinces of the empire under Rāmapāla we find Bihar and Eastern Bengal once more taking the lead in the field of artistic activity. Sculpture of the 12th century is degraded, mean, disproportionate and impeded in its movement by hide-bound tradition, yet the artists employ their skill in depicting a smile or in imparting to the countanance of Lokeśvara an expression of ethereal grace. The slavish obedience to the rules of the Śilpaśāstra has gradually levelled all characteristics and in the 12th century it is impossible to distinguish a Bihar image from an Eastern Bengal example. With the fall of the stronghold of

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Uddaṇḍapura (modern Bihar) and the sack of the celebrated University of Nālandā in 1199 by the predatory bands of the Musalman Turks under Muḥammad bin Bakhtyār Khiljī, the history of Magadha art comes to a sudden end. Even after the collapse of the Pālas, the artists of Magadha continued their activity. Patronage was rare and images few and far between; but the sudden blow at the vast monastic establishments of Nālandā and Vikramaśilā paralysed all artistic activity. Magadha ceased to have a separate existence either on the political map of India or in the long and varied history of its later plastic art."[24]

This historical sketch, enables us to trace the elements which caused certain artistic changes in the sun image after the seventh century. Eastern India, as we have noticed, had constant relations both political and religious, with different countries, and this contact has undoubtedly left more or less distinct marks on its art. Moreover, Pāṭaliputra, the prosperous metropolis of the country, and Nālandā with its monastic establishments must have been meeting places of different cultures. It is not possible for us to go into detail, but if the art of this epoch is analysed it will certainly bring interesting results.

We will now describe some sun images of the mediaeval period arranged chronologically.

The image No. 307 of the Indian Museum, Calcutta, is a fine example of a Sūrya of the early eighth century. It comes from Bihar and measures 3' 3 1/2" in height and 1' 11 1/2" in breadth. The god stands in the middle of a triple-stele on a low unadorned plinth. Behind his head there is a circular halo

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bordered by scrolls and reaching from the hips to the top of the *kirīṭamukuṭa*. His oval face and long locks are decorated with a *kirīṭamukuṭa* and lotus-shaped earrings. He wears a long necklace, a girdle, *(udarabandha)*, and a long skirt-like *dhotī* fastened with an ornamental belt at the waist. It reaches down to the boots, is longer at the back than in front and folded in the middle. His two hands are raised, and hold each a lotus-flower with *abhayamudrā* in *tripatāka-hasta*. Across his thighs there is a belt from which hangs a sword at his left.

To either side of Sūrya are slanting stelae ending in oval *maṇḍalas*, which together with that of the main deity make a three-lobed and diverging outline. To his proper right stands Piṅgala with an ink-pot in his left hand and a style in his right hand held in *sūcihasta*. His head is slightly bent and he wears a necklace and *udarabandha*. His short *paridhāna* leaves the booted legs uncovered from the knees downward. At the proper right of the god his second satallite Daṇḍin is carved with a staff in *kaṭi- hasta*. His right hand and general attitude correspond with those of Piṅgala, also his attire, except the low *kirīṭamukuṭa* [25]

Two images of Sūrya of this epoch have been discovered in Java, which we will describe later in an appendix with other images of this country.

About the middle of the eighth century a peculiar type of the sun image appears. The Paurāṇic tradition, not to show the feet of the god, was observed by the artists covering the feet with boots or foot-gear, since the Kuṣāṇa period, but in

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the newly introduced type the feet of Sūrya as well as those of his attendants are indicated concealed up to the knees by the body of the car. The images of this type found in Bengal are much superior in carving to those of Bihar. Perhaps this is due to the invasion of Yaśovarman of Kanauj, which disturbed the artistic activities of Bihar much more than those of the remote parts of Bengal. The image No. 693 of the V.R.S. Museum may be taken as an example of this type in Bengal.

It comes from Deora, Bogra District (Pl. XIX), and is made of black stone, size 2' by 1' 3". The god stands with a circular halo round his head, decorated with a string of beads running between parallel lines. He has long locks and wears a cap-shaped *mukuṭa* and a necklace. In each of his two hands there is a lotus-stalk, rising just above the shoulders and terminating in a bunch of lotus-flowers; the right hand is broken off. The sacred thread, so prominent in the Sūrya images of this type from Bihar, is absent. The upper half of the body above the navel is covered with a coat of mail, while the lower half is clad in a short skirt tied round the waist by a girdle. He has the *avyaṅga* and along his left side there hangs a sword kept in position by means of a chain. His two attendants, Daṇḍin and Piṅgala, have each a similar halo around their heads. In front of these attendants we find Uṣas and Pratyuṣas represented, whilst Aruṇa is placed in front of the god. On both sides are three galloping horses while the central one is shown facing in front of the one wheel.

It is interesting to note here that Aruṇa, who is described as '*anūru*' i.e., 'thighless' in iconographic texts, and repre-

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sented as such in most sculptures, is here depicted with his feet fully carved, though the soles are hidden under a semi-circular design on the top of the chariot. The representation of the central horse in the middle of the wheel is singular.[27]

Another image of this type (Pl. XX) and of the same epoch was found about 1923 by a villager in the course of the excavation of a tank at Kashipur, a village under the Jaynagore P.S. of the Alipore sub- division; it was acquired by Mr. Kalidas Datta.[28]

This sculpture is made of bluish basalt and measures 2' 5 1/2" in height. The god has a plain circular halo round his head and wears a cap-like head-dress, from underneath which curls descend on both shoulders. He is adorned with a short necklace, apparently of beads with a rectangular bar in the centre, plain bracelets, and a long tunic. In each of his two hands he holds a lotus-stalk in the same way as in the above mentioned image. His waist is encircled by a belt, with two tassels hanging from the stud in the centre. Along the left side there is a sword, kept in position by means of a strap. The charioteer Aruṇa is placed in front of the god, and like his master, only the upper part of his body is visible. He holds a goad in his right hand and the reins in the left. Beneath this group the body of the chariot with its single wheel and seven horses is carved.

It is worth noticing that the projection of the chariot, just above the horses, is decorated with leaf-like designs, resembling the *caitya* window of the Gupta period.[29]

The image found on the bank of the Sūraj-Kuṇḍa at Baragaon, the ancient Nālandā, may be taken as a prototype

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of this style in Bihar sculpture. The god is represented standing in and projecting from a stele, the upper rounded border of which is edged by a flat torus with a crossed line design and half rosettes of lotus, which touch the top of the lotuses held by the god. The two hands of Sūrya are raised to the shoulders and hold each a full-blown lotus combined with a bud and a leaf. He wears a prismatic *kirīṭamukuṭa* adorned with a lotus-scroll pattern "without end", and prominent earrings, a necklace, armlets, bracelets, a sacred thread *(yajñopavīta)* and a broad belt. The ends of his scarf are shown floating on both sides and the *dhoti* is with a decorated belt. A sword is suspended from his proper left thigh. At the proper right side of Sūrya, a bearded Piṅgala is represented with conical headdress and distended ears. He wears a torque and holds a pen and an ink-pot in his hands. On the proper left of the god, Daṇḍin is represented with *uṣṇīṣa*-like *jaṭāmukuṭa*, and holding a spear in his left hand while his right is held in *abhayamudrā*. Uṣas and Pratyuṣas are placed at the extreme right and left, having bows in their hands. The unadorned figure of Aruṇa is carved in front of the god. The seven horses of the chariot are walking to the proper right and half of the wheel is shown on the opposite side.[30]

An unusual feature in this sculpture is the effigy of a horned-mask in the centre of the upper border of the chariot, on which Aruṇa sits. It resembles a head of a ram, and probably represent the Meṣa Rāśi i.e., Aries, the first of the twelve signs of the Zodiac. According to the astronomical texts the Meṣa Rāṣi has the form of a ram and is considered auspicious when in conjunction with Sūrya.[31] This repre-

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sentation suggests that by that time astronomy was most popularly accepted and Sūrya was considered to be Graha-pati the Lord of the Planets and the cause of all the *rāśis* and *nakṣatras*.

Another image of the same type is preserved in the Provincial Museum, Lucknow.[32] The arrangement of the image differs very little from that of the above mentioned image : here the lotus- buds are shown on the top of the lotus-flowes held by the god, while in the Nālandā image they are shown at the sides. Daṇḍin holds here his spear against the shoulder while in the other it rests on the ground. The horses are carved here side-ways with the exception of the central one, which is shown facing.

This type of the sun image was not only prevalent in North India but it occurs also in the South and even in Burma.[33]

On the ceiling of the vestibule of the Kumbharwada cave at Elura, there is a sun image (Pls. XXI, XXII, XIII - 1,2) of the same epoch (A.D. 725-800).[34] and of the same style. Here the chariot is much rougher and heavier than that of northern India; it has two wheels. The god has only two female attendants, Uṣas (Pl. XXIII, 2) and Pratyuṣas (Pl. XXIII, 1), shooting arrows.

The image of Sūrya discovered on a hill at Mrohaung in the Akyab District (Pl. XXIV), is the earliest figure of a Hindu deity that has been found in Arakan and Burma proper.[35] It measures 5' 3" in height including the tenon beneath, and depicts Sūrya riding in a chariot drawn by seven horses. It is much defaced but enough remains to show that it wears a high

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head-dress, and that it has only two hands both lifted up to the level of the shoulders with an indistint object held in them. The figure of the god is carved down to the thigh under the plinth of the chariot and the front horse is framed within an oval-shaped circle which probably represents the single wheel of the chariot. The figure of the charioteer is missing. The god is flanked on both sides by a small female figure; one appears to hold a bow and the other an arrow. The back of the slab bears an inscription in North Indian characters, which is so much obliterated as to be no longer legible. From what remains, it can be made out that it is written in a variety of the Gupta character of about the 8th century A.D., at the latest.[36]

A sun image discovered in 1923 at Hansi,[37] Hissar District, Panjab (Pl. XXV) is one of the most remarkable examples of the mediaeval image of Sūrya in Northern India, specially on account of its iconographic details. It measures four feet six inches or just three cubits in height, which is in conformity with the injunction of the Śāstras.[38] It is carved on a stele with a semi-circular top.

The god wears a *kirīṭa*, a necklace, a *mālā*, a *yajñopavīta*, and a girdle *(avyaṅga)*. The hands of the deity which hold lotuses do not reach up to the level of the shoulders as is usual in the South Indian images. On either side of the main figure, on the same base, stand three figures. Among them the two standing next to the deity are males, the one holding a pen with folio, and the other a spear. They must, therefore, be Piṅgala and Daṇḍin or Daṇḍanāyaka (i.e. Skanda), who were posted by the gods on the right and left side of Sūrya to protect him from the attacks of the *Asuras*.[39] The two females, placed

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at the side of Piṅgala and Daṇḍin, are two of the four wives of Sūrya; while the horse-headed male figures carved at the extreme ends of the group are the Aśvins. Higher up on both sides of Sūrya are Uṣas and Pratyuṣas, who are dispelling the darkness with their bows and arrows. Above them we notice a seated figure on either side of Sūrya. The figure on the proper right side holding an indistinct object in his right hand and a gourd *(kamaṇḍalu)* in the left, probably represents Brahmā. The seated figure, which is partly concealed by the lotus of Sūrya, must be Viṣṇu as is evident from his symbols. A peculiar feature of this image which is not generally met with in statues of the sun, is the nine planets along the halo,[40] the central figure being the sun-god himself.

As regards the date of this statue we have mainly to depend on its style, though the statue bears a short inscription in Nāgarī characters, which is engraved on the leaf in the left hand of Piṅgala, and which may possibly be read *Śrī Āditya-pratimā.* On account of its style the statue may be dated about the latter half of the eighth century A.D. The image must have been worshipped in a temple in the fort and was probably overthrown by the army of Masud, the son of Mahmud of Ghazni, when he captured the fort in 429 A.H. (i.e., 1037 A.D.)

The history of the fort, supports this conjecture.

"The early history of the fort prior to the Muslem invasion is hidden in obscurity and there are no inscriptions or other records which might assist in determining the date of its foundation with certainty. All the buildings, palaces, temples, etc., of the earlier period now lie buried under the later fort

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which was built on the site by the Afghan kings. On the east side of the fort is a *nālā*. One may also see several walls of large buildings which are still standing to considerable heights. The bricks of which these remains are composed and a number of stone pillars which have been utilized in the construction of the Muhmmaden buildings appear to belong to about the seventh century A.D., that is the period of Harṣavardhana or his father Prabhākaravardhana of Thanesar. It is, therefore, not unlikely that the Hansi fort, like Thanesar fort, was also founded by one or other of these princes."[41]

Before we proceed to describe another interesting class of the sun image of this epoch, it is necessary to make a brief survey of this style with its developments. We have already stated, that during the post-Gupta period figure sculpture lost its vigour and spirituality in Upper India. The sculptors pay great attention to iconographic details but lack artistic sentiment. With the exception of the image found at Hakimpur, Allahabad district, all sculptures, which have come to our notice, are stiff and expressionless. Here, they will be arranged in the chronological order, to be deduced from their style.

The images (Pls. XXVI, XXVII) preserved in the Rajputana Museum, Ajmer, which are reproduced by Mr: Rao, in his *Elements of Hindu Iconography* (pl. XC.), must belong to a date not far removed from that of the Hansi image. In figure 3 (Rao), the Aśvins are added on the extreme right and left, whilst Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and his three wives are omitted (Pl. XXVII). The halo of the god is here more elaborate. The figure 1, (Rao) represents Rājñī and Nikṣubhā, but omits Brahmā, Viṣṇu and the goddess Mahāśvetā (Pl. XXVI). Uṣas and Pratyuṣas are

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likewise absent. Miniature figures of the Aśvins are placed in small niches at the top. The halo of the god is not prominent here, it has the form of an oval-shaped arch.

An image preserved in the Public Library, Allahabad, is of a plain and rough workmanship. The god stands in front of an oval- shaped niche with a full-blown lotus in each hand. He wears a high *mukuṭa*, high boots, and a *yajñopavīta*. On his proper right and left sides stand Daṇḍin and Piṅgala. The latter has no beard. Next to them stand the Aśvins turning their faces towards the god. The goddess Mahāśvetā is placed in front of the feet of Sūrya, and Uṣas and Pratyuṣas occupy the top corners.

The image from Bargadhi, Gorakhpur district, U.P.,[42] is broken into two pieces. The god stands erect with lotuses in his two hands, a circular halo is visible behind his head. He wears a lofty *mukuṭa*, high boots, a *yajñopavīta*, and a girdle with the usual ornaments. His coat of mail is clearly indicated. The goddesses Rājñī and Nikṣubhā are placed at the proper right and left sides of the god, holding peculiarly carved lotuses in their right and left hand respectively. Next to them stand the Aśvins. Piṅgala is represented here seated in front of Rājñī, engaged in writing, while Daṇḍin, on the left side of the god, is placed in front of Nikṣubhā, holding a staff with his two hands. Though the feet of Mahāśvetā are broken off, it is clear that she was placed at the feet of the god. Under the Plinth the seven horses are carved, but on the photograph at our disposal they are hardly visible. The central horse is placed in a circle, which probably represents the single wheel of the chariot.

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Above the Aśvins a dwarf is seen on each side with a cup in his hand, and above them a pair of *vyālakas* are carved; one of their hind-legs rests on a miniature elephant. Above them Uṣas and Pratyuṣas are shown seated on *makaras*, and holding a bow and arrow in their hands.

The image from Bhatpar, Gorakhpur district, U.P. is broken into three pieces. It represents the god standing erect on a seven- horse chariot. Both the hands of Sūrya are broken and only the upper part of the lotus-flower held in the left hand of the god now remains. He wears an elaborately carved high mitre, earrings, a torque, *mālā*, *kaṭibandha*, high boots, and a coat of mail. A peculiar knot is carved on his breast. This is characteristic of the late medieval sun images in the U.P. and occurs also in the sun images of this epoch in Eastern Bengal, Dacca district. His two main wives stand on each side of him, and Mahāśvetā at his feet. In front of the goddesses there are two miniature figures; the left one has an unsheathed sword in his right hand and a staff in the left, and probably represents one of the two Manus, the sons of Sūrya. The right one carries a long staff *(daṇḍa)* in his left hand, and represents Yama, another son the god. Between Manu and Yama, we notice the thighless Aruṇa. On the extreme right and left, the Aśvins are carved with halos behind their heads. A little lower down Daṇḍin and Piṅgala are represented. Above the goddess Rājñī, there is a bearded figure, holding indistinct objects in his hands; while above Nikṣubhā on the left, there is a female figure holding a similar object. Next to them, a pair of *vyālakas* are carved, standing on the heads of well-carved elephants. Above the *vyālakas*, there are the usual *makaras*, combined with

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figures of Uṣas and Pratyuṣas in niches. In the centre of the stele, above the *mukuṭa* of the god, there is a seated figure of Sūrya carrying a lotus in each hand. A flying Gandharva is seen on the left, holding a garland in his hands, while the right side is broken off.

The image No. H.29 of the Lucknow Museum (Pl. XXVIII), comes from Khukundu, Gorakhpur district, U.P.[43] The figures project from a pointed stele with a triple circular halo behind their heads. The sun-god is adorned with all the ornaments seen in the previous images. He holds a lotus-stalk in each of his hands, the stem of the proper right one is broken off. His two main wives stand at the proper right and left, each with a *cāmara* in her hand, and next to them the two Aśvins are placed. In front of the goddesses, a bearded Piṅgala is placed on the proper right side, and Daṇḍin on the left. Mahāśvetā is shown seated in front of Sūrya's feet. Two miniature figures, a female on the right, and a male on the left, are carved in front of the Aśvins, carrying some unknown objects in their hands. It is not certain whom they represent. Are they simply donors, or do they represent Yamunā and Yama, the children of the god? On each side above the Aśvins, a *vyālaka* is carved, standing on a seated elephant; above them is a projecting *makara*-head on which Uṣas and Pratyuṣas are placed. Just above the lotus-flower held in the right hand of the central figure, Brahmā is seated in a niche, with three visible faces and four hands; and on the left Viṣṇu is represented with his usual emblems.

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Above the *mukuṭa* of the god, the miniature figure of Śiva stands in a niche flanked by a pair of Gandharvas.

An image from Rajputana is a fine example of the Upper Indian sun images of the late eleventh century. The god is represented here on a high cushion placed in a seven-horse chariot. The horses are arranged in such a manner that each of them resembles a petal of a full-blown flower. The god is adorned as usual, and has a decorated floral nimbus behind his head. Both this hands are broken off at the elbows. His two wives stand on his proper right and left sides, probably with a flywhisk in their hands. Next to the goddesses, a bearded Piṅgala is placed on the right, with pen and ink-pot in his hands, and on the left, Daṇḍin stands with a long spear. Both wear conical mitres. At the extreme right and left sides, the Aśvins are represented carrying a gourd *(kamaṇḍalu)* in their left hands. Aruṇa is placed in front of the god's cushion, holding the reins in his left hand, while his raised right hand holds a whip. The goddess Mahāśvetā, who is generally represented in this class of sculptures in front of the god's feet, is missing, but can still be traced. Uṣas and Pratyuṣas are placed above the male attendants in niches, chasing the demon of darkness. Next to them, *vyālakas* are carved standing on seated elephants. Above Uṣas and Pratyuṣas, on the right side, Brahmā, and on the left, Śiva, are represented with an attendant standing on a *makara*-head. Just above them, on both sides, flying Gandharvas are carved with their wives; while at the top of the stele, two Gandharvas are depicted flying in clouds, and carrying some indistinct object in their hands.[44]

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The standing image of Sūrya from Garhwa, Allahabad district, is a good example of the Northern sun images of the late twelfth century.[45] The god occupies a niche enclosed between two decorated pilasters. The goddess Mahāśvetā is placed in front of his feet. Rājñī and Nikṣubhā stand on his proper left and right respectively, holding a lotus in their hands. At the extreme right, next to the goddess, a male figure is carved, probably representing Manu, while at the extreme left a horse-headed Aśvin stands holding a pot full of *amṛta* in his hand.[46]

Apparently one figure in each case is meant to represent both the Manus and the Aśvins. In front of the goddesses, Piṅgala and Daṇḍin can still be recognized, although their heads are missing. Next to them, there is a kneeling female figure on the right, and that of a male on the left. Probably they represent Yamunā and Yama, the daughter and the son of the god. Above the figures of Manu and Aśvin, a *vyālaka* is carved on each side over a dwarf. It stands on a small elephant and keeps its hind leg on the decorative end of its own tail. A small rider, holding the reins, is seated on its back. It is interesting to mark the development of this design. These *vyālakas* are combined with a *makara-motif*, and a miniature attending figure stands on each side of the *makara*-head. Above each of the two lotus-flowers held by the god, there is a four-armed deity united with his wife.

These miniatrue figures are defaced, but from what remains we conclude that the figure on the proper right probably represents Brahmā with his wife Sarasvatī, and that on the left, Viṣṇu with Lakṣmī Garuḍa being at his feet. Above

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the attending figures, Uṣas and Pratyuṣas are seen with their bows and arrows. Next to them on each side, there are three flying Gandharvas with wives. At the top of the proper right frame, the elephant-headed Gaṇeśa is seated in a miniature temple, with a *makara*-head at the extreme right, and in the miniature temple on the left, Kārttikeya is placed. The centre of the pediment is occupied by the four-armed Śiva, seated in *yogāsana* with *triśūla* and *khaṭvāṅga*, in a miniature temple flanked by two recumbent *vyālakas* each with a rider on its back.

A beautiful image (ht. 5'4") of Sūrya is found in Hakimpur, near Bharwani, Allahabad district.[47] Unfortunately the image is lamentably mutilated. All attending figures are defaced, and, one of them, at the proper left side has disappeared altogether. Its wonderful modelling and rhythmic decoration recall the vigour of the Gupta period, but on account of its composition the image cannot be dated earlier than the beginning of the eighth century.

The sculpture found at Nimthur, in the Gwalior state, is one of the most peculiar images of the sun-god that has come to the author's notice. It is carved in coarse sandstone and has no artistic value; but the sculpture has produced an image which is remarkable for its originality.

What arrests attention in this sculpture, is the freedom of the sculpture. Either he has intentionally avoided the technical limitations laid down in the Purāṇas, Āgamas, and other iconographical texts, or the image belongs to an earlier date than those Śāstras. The latter hypothesis cannot be

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well-founded as the image displays much that belong to the latter phases of Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism.

There is no representation of the car, horses, and the charioteer Aruṇa, as are generally met with in images of Sūrya. The god stands erect on a recessed pedestal and wears no boots. His feet are bare, decorated with ornaments. A coarse mutilated female figure seated at his feet in Yogāsana, probably represents the goddess Mahāśvetā. From his usual attendants, his wives Rājñī and Sañjñā, Uṣas and Pratyuṣas are missing, and two new male figures are added on the extreme right and left. Probably they represent his two sons, Manu and Yama. The Aśvins are to be found in their usual places; and Daṇḍin and Piṅgala too; but Piṅgala is not represented corpulent and bearded as in other sculptures. The god has three faces and six arms. In his right hands, he holds a *padma* (lotus), *kapāla* (skull), and *triśūla* (trident), and in his left hands, a *padma*, *Śaṅkha* (conch), and *gadā* (mace). Above his triśūla and gadā on the right and left sides, there are two four-armed figures sitting in Bhogāsana. The right one is corpulent and bearded, and wears a *yajñopavīta*, the sacred thread. Though the figure is rather mutilated, the emblem in its upper right hand appears to be a rosary, and that in the upper left hand is probably a manuscript of the Vedas. The right lower hand is opened in *abhayamudrā*, and the object in the left one looks like a Kuṇḍī, or waterpot. These iconographical details enable us to identify the figure as a representation of Brahmā. The left figure undoubtedly represents Viṣṇu. In his two upper hands he holds a cakra and a gadā respectively, and the right

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lower hand is opened in *varadamudrā;* and the object in the lower left hand, though mutilated, must be a Śaṅkha. At the top there are five figures; but two of them, at the extreme right and left, are lamentably mutilated. It is hard to identify them with certainty. But the appearance of a peacock, under the seat of the extreme right mutilated figure, makes it possible to identify it as an image of Kārttikeya. It is difficult to identify the figure on the extreme left with any certainty. On close observation, the dim outline of an elephant's face turned towards the left can be discerned; perhaps it represents the god Gaṇeśa. There are two female figures holding lotuses in their hands, probably Rājñī and Sañjñā, the two main wives of Sūrya. But the representation of the male figure between the two goddesses, posed like Buddha, gives rise to question. Who can it be? It cannot be Buddha, as the sign of Kuṇḍala is clear even on the badly mutilated face, and Kaṇṭhahāra, the necklace, which is never worn by Buddha, is obviously there. There are no examples of corepresentation of Bodhisattvas with Hindu deities. So, the only alternative is to identify the figure with Yogīśvara, (Śiva in meditation), thus completing in this sculpture the trinity of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva. We have already identified Brahmā and Viṣṇu, the third possibly is Śiva.

The three faces and six hands of the main image enable us to identify it as a Trimūrti, a composite form of Śiva, Sūrya, and Viṣṇu. The front figure, being surrounded with the usual attendants of Sūrya and holding lotuses in its hands, represents the sun-god. The left face is not shown in profile; but associated with the Vaiṣṇava emblems, gadā and śaṅkha in

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the two back left hands, it represents Viṣṇu. The third face is the most striking feature of this image. It depicts a bitterly weeping figure. The attributes, triśūla and kapāla, the emblems of Śiva in the right back hands, and the representation of the head of Nandi, the vehicle of the god, above the heads of the Aśvins and Piṅgala, go to prove that the weeping face is that of Rudra, a form of Śiva.

It is necessary here to relate the interesting story of Rudra to explain why he is always portrayed as weeping. "Prajāpati, the lord of beings was a householder, and Uṣas was his wife. She became pregnant and a boy was born in a year. He wept. Prajāpati said to him, "Boy, why dost thou weep, since thou hast been born after toil and austerity?" The boy said. "My evil indeed has not been taken away, and a name has not been given to me. Give me a name. "Prajāpati said to him : "thou art Rudra." In as much as he gave him that name, Agni became his form, for Rudra is Agni. He was Rudra because he wept *(arodīt,* from *rud,* to weep.) The boy said, "I am greater than one who does not exist, give me a name." Prajāpati replied, "Thou art Sarva". But the boy was not content and wept again. Prajāpati asked the reason and he gave the same answer. After each question Prajāpati gave him a different name : Paśupati, Ugra, Aśani, Bhava, Mahādeva, and Īśāna. In as much as he gave him that name, Āditya (the sun) became his form. For Īśana is the sun, because he rules *(iste)* over this universe. The boy said, "I am so much; do not give me any further name."[48]

The same legend in a somewhat different form is related in the *Śāṅkhyāyana-brāhmaṇa* (vi.1. etc), and the

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Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa sect. 52, 2 ff. Explaining the R.V.1.114, Sāyaṇa gives another explanation of the name Rudra. From the *Taittarīya-saṁhitā* (i.5, 1.1.) we know that, "The gods and Asuras engaged in battle. The gods conquering, deposited valuable property with Agni, saying, "If they should ever conquer us, we shall have this." Agni desired the property; and went off with it. The gods, after being victorious, went after him to recover their goods, which they tried to take from him by force. He wept, and on that account Rudra is always characterized as weeping.

Now the question arises how did this Trimūrti worship come into existence, what is the origin of the idea of Trimūrti, and how old is this symbolic conception? In answering the first and second part of this question, it should be borne in mind that worship derives its origin from two sources, namely, realization in the heart, and realization in the mind. The former is called devotion, mainly based on belief, gratitude or superstition; and the second is philosophy, a critical analysis of truth, which also leads to conscious devotion. In the worship of Trimūrti, we find both these elements, devotional and philosophical. Here we will discuss only those forms of Trimūrti which relate to Sūrya. About the Trimūrti form of Sūrya, the well known Indian scholar Sir R.G. Bhandarkar speaking of the sect of the Sauras remarks, "Some worship the orb of the sun which has just risen, as Brahmadeva, the Creator; others, the sun on the meridian as Īśvara, the Destroyer. He is also regarded as the Originator. Some regard the setting sun as Viṣṇu, the Protector, and considering him as the cause of both Creation and Destruction and as the highest entity, worship

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Him. There are some who resort to all the suns as a triple form.[49] (Vai. Sai. p. 152.)

According to Hindu Philosophy, Trimūrti represents the fundamental laws of the universe : God has two aspects, the Amūrta, the unconditional, and Mūrta, the conditional. In the former state, He is one beyond mind and speech, *Yato vaca nivartante aprāpya manasā saha;* in the latter, He is dual with the two aspects of Puruṣa and Prakṛti or Consciousness and Matter. This dual state is called *saguṇa* from the standpoint of form or sound, and is the universe according to the Viṣṇu Purāṇa. From this state, three states arise : Vyakta, Intermediate, and Avyakta. In the first stage Puruṣa and Prakṛti are one; the second is a stage of transition, where the two principles are working together, non-separate, as Puruṣa- Prakṛti; in the last stage, Puruṣa and Prakṛti separate themselves into two, and are expressed in action. In as much as Puruṣa is always cooperating with Prakṛti, the former manifests itself in the division of the latter (Prakṛtistriguṇātmikā) into three guṇas : Sattva, Rajas, and Tamas; as the three expressions of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva, the presiding power over the fundamental laws : Creation, Protection, and Annihilation- Janma, Sthiti, Pralaya, constituting the latter Hindu triad or trinity. Thus, the trinity is only the three aspects of one and the same God.

This trinity was not in vogue until the advent of the Paurāṇic period; for, in the time of Yāska the deities who were

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generally grouped together as the triad are not Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Śiva, but Agni, Vāyu or Indra, and Sūrya.[50]

It should be noted here that the image in review represents a rather early form of Trimūrti. As we have seen the affinity of Rudra with Agni, so early Saṁskṛt literature has many instances indicating that Indra is identical with Viṣṇu. The growth of Vaiṣṇavism caused the submersion of his mighty god of the Vedas. The separate representation of the Paurāṇic triad, Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Śiva, and that of Avyaṅga and Vanamālā (shown below the knees of the front figure), show that the image has witnessed the renaissance of Hindu religion.

The opinion of Rao Sahib Krishna Sastri is worth noticing in this connection.[51] "The so-called Trimūrti images perhaps represent the sun as the one representation of the three gods. The Prayogaratna mentions Rudra as presiding deity of the sun. One of the varieties of Brahmā is, according to Nṛsiṁhaprasad, the form of the sun-god. Temples of Traipuruṣa often mentioned in inscriptions from the Kanarese country are supposed to be dedicated to Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Śiva, but curious enough, Brahmā is sometimes replaced by the sun. The Brahmā, Viṣṇu (Sūryanārāyaṇa) and Śiva (Rudra) being all directly or indirectly recognised to be identical with the sun, there is every possibility of the Trimūrti figures representing the sun-god."

Another interesting type of the sun image came into being about the middle of the eighth century. It represents the

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god seated in his seven-horse chariot surrounded by the usual attendants. This type, however, is comparatively rare, although it has been discovered all over India. The oldest specimen, known to me, in an *aṣṭadhātu* image, discovered among ruins in the village of Deulbadi, in the Tippera District, some 22 miles south of Comilla in Bengal. It has now been removed to the temple at Chaṇḍīmuṇḍā, close to the Lalmai station on the Assam-Bengal Railway.[52]

Here the god is shown seated in his one-wheeled car. The horses are arranged underneath the chariot at a little distance from each other. Sūrya and his two male attendants have a halo decorated in the Nalanda style of the eighth century. He sits in *yogāsana*, and carries a full-blown lotus-flower in each hand. A bearded and corpulent Piṅgala is placed on his proper right, while Daṇḍin is represented on the left. Uṣas and Pratyuṣas are shown at the extreme right and left. The charioteer Aruṇa is placed in front of the god, holding a *gaja-suṇḍa* and a rein in his proper left hand.

This *gaja-suṇḍa* motif is a peculiar addition to the sun images in the Bengal school of sculpture from the eighth century downward.[53] Many scholars are inclined to identify the motif as a *makara- head*, but it seems more probable that this representation, like the *meṣa-head* in front of Aruṇa in the Bihar School, is meant to suggest the asterism : *Hasta-nakṣatra*, whose guardian deity is Sūrya (*asyādhidevatā Dinakṛt, Jyotiṣatattva).* This asterism when in conjunction with Sūrya, is said to cause plentiful rain. For the artists of Bengal

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the choice of this motif was prompted by their wish for abundance of rain on which the growth of paddy, the chief product of the country, mainly depends. The Elephant as a raincloud has been discussed above in our description of the Lala Bhagat pillar.

The image was discovered together with an inscribed Sarvāṇī image of the eighth century A.D. and is a remarkable example of the East Indian Art of that epoch.

The image G 36 and G 37 of the Museum of Archaeology at Sarnath represents this type.[54] The image G 36 is made of buff- coloured sandstone. It exhibits the sun-god seated cross-legged on a cushion. His head and four arms are broken off, but the position of the lotus flowers, which the deity held in hands, are clearly marked. It is worth noticing that, instead of his usual four or seven horses, only three horses are represented on the pedestal. In the upper corners of the sculptures are Gandharvas carrying garlands.

The slab, G 37 (ht.1'11 1/2"; width 1'9 1/2"), is also made of buff-coloured sandstone of Cunar. We see the god here, seated cross-legged in a sunken panel, holding a full-blown lotus in each hand.[55]

Images of this style were found in Upper India at Gum, in the Chamba State, Punjab,[56] at Mandor in Marwar,[57] and at Chittorgarh in Mewar.[58] The first mentioned image represents the god seated in the European fashion on his seven-horse chariot. It is remarkable that the galloping horses are here provided with short wings. With the exception of the central one which is shown facing, the horses are running sideways, three to the right and three to the left side. Beside

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the extreme horses, there are two male figures, which possibly represent morning and evening twilight. Aruṇa, holding the reins in his two hands, sits on the edge of the car. His face is missing. The god wears tight trousers, and his tunic is held round the waist by means of a belt. His low *mukuṭa* and other ornaments are not clear, and the two arms are defaced. At his proper right and left, Uṣas and Pratyuṣas are seen shooting arrows. Behind Pratyuṣas we notice Daṇḍin standing with a female figure behind him, probably a *kinnarī* blowing on a conch, while the right side is broken off.

The second image from Mandor (Pl. XXIX) is carved on a broken lintel. The arrangement of the chariot is about the same as in the first image, but the male figures on the extreme right and left are missing. The god is attended by two male figures seated at the proper sides, and two female figures are placed behind them. The face and hands of the god and his attendants are mutilated. The male figures represent Daṇḍin and Piṅgala; and the females, holding fly-whisks in their hands, are Rājñī and Nikṣubhā.

The third sculpture is more elaborate in its iconographic details. The seven-horse chariot is placed on a decorated plinth, and the seven horses are arranged in the same manner as in the previous images. Like the first image, it includes two male figures at the extreme sides. The god sits on a round cushion, and Aruṇa is seated in front of him on the edge of the car. He has a floral nimbus and a high headdress. His ornaments are mutilated, and only the girdle and the scarf can still be recognised. The lotus-flower in the proper right hand is

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broken. Piṅgala and Daṇḍin are placed at the proper right and left sides of the god, and Rājñī and Nikṣubhā, holding lotuses in their hands, are shown a little above them. On both sides of the nimbus Uṣas and Pratyuṣas are placed. The feet of the flying Gandharvas are visible above on both sides of the nimbus, but their bodies are not clear in the photograph in our possession.

An image of Sūrya, now placed in the back wall of a modern temple at Bilhari, the ancient Vilahari, the capital of the Chedi kings, now a large village in the Jubbulpore District of the Central Provinces, is worth noticing. The image is carved on a stele with three points at the top.[59] The god, whose figure projects from a circular disk, has six arms, but the objects held in them are indistinct. The circle rests upon a rectangular niche under which Aruṇa is carved. Under the plinth of the niche, the single wheel of the chariot is represented facing the spectator and combined with a curved bar, suggesting the bar used to protect the wheel. Of the seven horses yoked to the chariot, four are placed on the proper right side, and three on the left.

A bronze image (Pl. XXX) of this variety is preserved in the Madras Museum.[60] The god is seated here under an arch, having a *kīrtimukha* on the top. He is attended by two female attendants, standing on the lotuses. The proper right one carries a banner, while the left figure holds a fly-whisk in her proper right hand. Aruna is placed below the seat of the god, over the central horse.

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Another copper image of Sūrya is found near Mangalbāri, Dist. Dināajpur.[61] The god is seated at ease in a chariot drawn by seven horses, and the 'legless' Aruṇa is represented behind, with the reins in his hand. Sūrya is draped in a *dhoti* and *uttarīya*, wearing a high mitre, necklace, sacred thread, bracelets and anklets. He has here four hands, the upper ones carry a lotus each, while of the lower, the right exhibits the *varada* and the left, the *abhayamudrā*. This representation of the sun-god agrees in the main with the *dhyāna* in the Tantrasāra.[62]

Another four-armed figure of Sūrya (Pl. XXXI) is found at Rūpnagar, Kishangarh District, Rajputana.[62] This image which is made of marble, is comparatively modern. The god sits in *bhogāsana* in his car. In his upper hands he carries a full-blown lotus, while in the lower right hand he holds an *akṣamālā*, and in the left a *kuṇḍī*. The chariot is provided with two wheels and is drawn by a single horse which has four legs and seven heads. The horse is shown galloping over a stylised mountain.

An inscribed image of the same type was found at Qasbah near Bairhatta (Ekdala, Dinajpur) in 1930.[63] The image is in a good state of preservation, except that the hands are broken, the nose mutilated, and the upper part of the body of a figure in front of the god is missing. Out of the *pañcaratha* pedestal, and dividing it into two sections, emerge the seven horses of Sūrya's car. The central horse is enclosed within a circle indicating the wheel of the one-wheeled chariot of Sūrya, and to the extreme right there are two human figures, a male and a female, probably the donor and his wife. The central

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horse is surmounted by Aruṇa, the thighless charioteer of Sūrya, clasping the *gaja- suṇḍa* with his left hand, while the right swings a whip. He is flanked by Uṣas and Pratyuṣas, shooting arrows. Behind Aruṇa sits a figure in *ardhaparyaṅka*, the upper part of which is unfortunately missing. This figure most probably represents the goddess Mahāśvetā, who is enjoined to be placed just in front of the god.

The god sits in *vajraparyaṅka* on a lotus, booted as in other Sūrya images, and wears a close-fitting garment fastened to the waist by means of an elaborate girdle to which a sword and a dagger are attached. He also wears a coat of mail and the other usual garments. In his two hands (both broken away), he holds two lotuses, which rise a little above his shoulders. On either side of him appear his four attendants, all booted and seated in *ardhaparyaṅka*. To the extreme right, there is a stout bearded male figure with pen and inkstand representing Piṅgala; and to the extreme left, Daṇḍin is placed, with his right hand in *abhayamudrā*, and the left resting on his thigh, holding a raised sword. The goddesses Rājñī and Nikṣubhā, holding chowries, stand on either side of the deity.

On both sides of the god, we notice on the back slab, eight small figures; one above the other, and four on each side, representing eight out of the nine *grahas* of Hindu astronomy, the sun being the ninth. Flames are also represented on the back slab, with two symbols on each side, the exact significance of which is doubtful. The one, resembles an arrow, or a *Śakti;* and the other, a crescent, with a ball on it, supported

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on a shaft. Above, on either side, a flying *gandharva* with a garland, hangs over the pointed stele which is topped by a *Kīrttimukha.*

"At the base of the sculpture, there is an inscription in two lines. The first line is in two parts; the first part contains fourteen letters, and the second, only two. The second line is divided into three parts; the first containing eleven, the second four, and the third, only one letter. The two lines together form a regular *anuṣṭupa* verse. It opens with the sign for *Oṁ* and probably records the name of the donor, who, after causing the image to be made, dedicated it.

L.1 *Oṁ Śrimad Vaktraśivācāryaka (kā)rito bhu(bhū)tika(kā)madaḥ /*

L.II *Sūryaḥ samastarogānāṃ harttā viśvaprakaṃ (kā) śakaḥ //*

'(An image of) Sūrya (the sun-god), the Bestower of welfare, and Desire (of the people), the Remover of all diseases, and the Illuminator of the Universe, has been caused to be made by the illustrious *Vaktraśivācārya.*'

To the right of the above inscription, there are two short lines each containing four letters, the first line of which opens with the symbol for *Oṁ.*

L.1. *Oṁm Paṁdarīka*

L.2. *Vārapāsa*

The authors of the article from which we have quoted this passage[64] think that the inscription most probably gives the name of the artist, (Puro, in common parlance) *Puṇḍarīka*

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which would appear to be derived from *Puṇḍraka* most probably represents the territorial name of the original inhabitants of *Puṇḍra*, i.e., North Bengal. The inscription contains no date, but on palaeographical grounds the image may be assigned to the late part of the twelfth century.

An interesting image of Sūrya was discovered in 1933 by S.K. Sarasvati at the large mauza of Mahendra, Bengal.[65] The peculiarity of this image lies in the representation of the six arms to the god, which is uncommon with the sun images met with in iconographic descriptions. The description of the twelve Ādityas given in the *Viśvakarmaśāstra*, [66] enable us to identify the image as that of Dhātṛ, one of the Ādityas, who is described thus in the above mentioned text; *dakṣiṇe pauṣkarī mālā kare vāme kamaṇḍaluḥ, padmābhyām śobhitakarā sā Dhātṛ prathamā smṛtā*. An image of Dhātṛ should have four hands of which the main two should hold lotuses, the other right should have a *pauṣkarī mālā* and the left a *kamaṇḍalu*. Mr. Rao translates the '*pauṣkarīmālā*' as a lotus garland. It may also mean a garland of lotus seeds. Lotus seeds being a well known *śāstrik* material in the composition of a rosary, it is not unreasonable to assume that '*pauṣkarī mālā*' here means such a garland, i.e., *akṣamālā*. So far our image exactly corresponds to the above description. The only discrepancy, viz. the two hands in addition to the prescribed four, need not seriously handicap us, as the *vara* and the *abhaya mudrās*, which these two hands exhibit, are the general attributes of every deity. Our acquisition, therefore, inspite of its six hands, probably represents Dhātṛ, the first of the twleve Ādityas, and

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is perhaps the first iconographic treatment of such a deity, yet discovered.

The general composition of the image is compatible with the image of Sūrya, so frequent in Bengal (Pls. XXXII, XXXIII). There are the seven horses and the wheel of the chariot on the pedestal, above which are seen all his usual attendants, Daṇḍin, Piṅgala, his two wives with Uṣas and Pratyuṣas on either side, and Mahāśvetā and the charioteer Aruṇa just in front. All the figures are booted.[67]

Another interesting specimen (3' x 1'6 1/2") comes from the interior of Varendra (Manda, Rajshahi), Bengal, and is now in the museum of V.R.S. Rajshahi.[68] It is fairly well preserved except that the four front-arms are broken off, and the face and the crown of the main figure are damaged.

The lower portion of the image is quite in keeping with the images of the Sun-god commonly met with in museums. But the middle and upper portions of the image in question exhibit some characteristics found in no other images of the Sun-god discovered before. The peculiar characteristics noticeable in this image are that it is three-faced, with *Jaṭāmukuṭa* and has six existing arms with distinctive emblems or *Praharaṇas* in each. From the broken off stumps of the arms it is presumed that the image was originally ten-handed. The number of arms, the variety of attributes in them and the representation of five faces, rather than the three or, (assuming one uncarved at the back), four, which occur in the present image, would have been in conformity with its ten hands. In its left hands the image holds a serpent (Nāgapāśa?),

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a ḍrum (Ḍamaru), a Kaumudī or Nīlotpala, and a full blown lotus or Padma, and in its right hands it holds a Khaṭvāṅga, a trident, a Śakti and a full blown lotus or Padma. The image has a pointed nimbus with a Kīrtimukha at the top and two flying figures or Vidyādharas on two sides of it. At the back are shown three lines of flames tapering towards the top and some lines of flames are also visible in the middle. It is richly bejewelled but does not wear any breast-plate (Kañcuka), but a thin scarf is shown crossed over the chest. It wears elaborately carved ornaments, Kaṇṭhahāra, Karṇakuṇḍala, Śirobandha, and Kaṭibandha. There is a Yajñopavīta (sacred thread) on its person. Though the face of the main figure is slightly mutilated, the pointed Tilaka is yet visible. Each of the other two faces, on the right and the left of the main figure, also wears a Jaṭāmukuṭa, and has three eyes, and one of the two is shown as bearded, with whole ranges of teeth exposed. The main deity stands erect on a full-blown lotus or Padmapīṭha. A small dagger passes through the girdle and is attached to the right of the image, but no sword on the left is clearly shown as noticed in other Sūrya images, although something like the hilt of a sword appears to be represented. The top of the boot is curled back.[69]

The number of faces and hands, and the distinctive attributes are the special features of this image which arrest attention. A *dhyāna* in Śāradātilaka describes a type of the sun-image which resembles the image under review, with some slight difference mainly in representation of hands and heads. It has ten arms and three heads instead of eight hands and

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four heads. Probably it is due to artistic licence or to confirmation of local beliefs.

In the course of discussion we have noticed, how political changes in India have exercised considerable influence on the growth and intermingling of her religion. The rise of the Bhāgavatas in Northern India made Vaiṣṇavism vigorous, and under the patronage of Śaiva rulers, Śaivism became prominent in the South. Many gods and goddesses of the later Vedas and Brāhmaṇas could not maintain their position and disappeared in the flood of sectarian beliefs; but Sūrya, being popular and equipped with the qualities of Viṣṇu and Śiva was better able to weather the storm for a time, though his followers also had at last to compromise. At about the end of the mediaeval period the edifice of the Saura religion was quite shaken, though its devotees tried their best to save the position of Sūrya by identifying him with mighty popular Hindu deities. Many images of Sūya which have been discovered all over India, show his affinity with the Hindu triad, Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Śiva.

The image in review comes from Bengal, where Śaivism was highly influenced by Tāntrism. It is natural enough that it favours many attributes which were invented by the Śāktas and have been accepted by the Śaivas.

The word *vallabhārdham* in the above mentioned *dhyāna* is synonymous with *Ardhanārīśvara*, a well known form of Śiva. Using *vallabhārdham* as an adjective to Mārtaṇḍam, the author of the Śāradātilaka attempts to show the affinity of the god with Śiva. The Bhaviṣya-Purāṇa also says

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: - *Umāpate Raveś cāpi na bhedaḥ kaścid iśyate,* "There is no difference between Śiva and Sūrya." Moreover many of the attributes of this image being similar to those of Śiva, described in his *Dhyāna : "namostu-pāśa- aṅkuśa-śūla-padma- kapāla-sarpa-indu-dhanurdharāya,"* enables us to confirm the presence of Śiva in this image. The Pīṭhamantra of the Śāradātilaka; *Brahma Viṣṇu Śivātmakāya saurāya yogapīṭhāya namaḥ*, suggests an affinity among Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śiva and Sūrya, but seeing no distinct representations of Brahmā's and Viṣṇu's emblems, we are not in a position to accept their presence in this sculpture. We can not agree with the suggestion of Mr. Kshitish Chandra Sarkar : "Four of the hands being broken off, it is very difficult to suggest if all or any of the other atributes *cakra, śriṇi, akṣamālā* and *kapāla* were also exhibited befitting the symbols of Viṣṇu and Brahmā, and all the Praharaṇas of Śiva or Bhairava," as it is quite clear that the two upper fore-hands of the god hold the stalks of lotuses, and possibly the lower ones are posed in *abhaya* and *Dāna* or *varada mudrā*. As we find in a *dhyāna* of Sūrya, *raktābjayugmābhayadānahastam*, regarding the *vedavaktra* or four faces, described in the *dhyāna* of the Śāradātilaka, it can be presumed that the fourth face, being at the back, was not carved.

It seems to me that the sculpture exhibits a composite form of Sūrya and Śiva. The right and left faces of the god represent the two characteristics of Śiva, Rudra, the fearful, and Śiva, the auspicious. I do not see any reason to call the image Mārtaṇḍa Bhairava, as Mr. Sarkar does. Perhaps his

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hypothesis is based on the fact that the face exposes rows of teeth.

One image is unique among the numerous images of the sun-god met with in museums. It was found at Dhamasa, in Thana Gaurnadi, dist. Bakerganj, Bengal; but is now in the house of a Paṇḍita at Daharpara, in Thana Kotalipara, distt Farīdpur (Pl. XXXIV).[70]

This sculpture is undoubtedly an example of fine workmanship, although except for two couples of Vidyādharas hovering at the either side of the god, and an umbrella prominently exhibited at the top, it contains no other decorative details.

The god stands erect holding a full-blown lotus-flower in each of his two hands, which are held in *cin* or *samdarśanamudrā*. The lotuses issue from his lotus-seat with long stalks which rise a little above his shoulders. His lower garment descending down to the knees, is profusely ornamented with a string of pearls and jewels which are artistically joined with his rich girdle. Avyaṅga is shown just above the knees. A dagger is attached to his right side with a belt which is seen at the front top of his girdle. His legs are covered by high boots with artistically carved upper fringes. His head is adorned with Mukuṭa, and he wears triple necklaces and earrings. His chest is bound by ornamental bands which interwine to form a knot on the breast. His two male attendants, bearded, corpulent Piṅgala (Pl. XXXV, 1), and Daṇḍin (Pl. XXXV, 2) also stand in *tribhaṅga* pose at the right and left side of the god on lotus seats. Both wear highboots and the same dress as their master,

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Piṅgala holds a pen and an ink-pot in his hands, and Daṇḍin, a sword in his right hand and rests his left hand on his hip. The two miniature figures placed on the same lotus seats with Piṅgala and Daṇḍin, are his two wives Nikṣubhā and Savarṇā. Each holds a lotus in her right hand. The goddess Mahāśvetā or Prabhā is placed in front of the sun-god. Below the goddess, Aruṇa, the charioteer of Sūrya, is represented holding a bird in his left hand and raising the right to urge on the horses. At the feet of the middle horse of the car, there appears a circle, which evidently represents the one-wheeled chariot of Sūrya. Beneath this, there are five small figures. The two female archers shooting arrows, at the extreme right and left, represent Uṣas and Pratyuṣas, the evening twilight proceeding towards the darkness with her bow and arrow. The other three figures which are shown kneeling perhaps represent the donors.

A curious feature of this image which calls for notice is the representation of a bird in front of Aruṇa. It is hazardous to say anything about it with precision; but from the classical Saṁskṛt literature, we know that the sun is very dear to Cakravāka (Hindi Cakavā), the ruddy goose, (anas casarca or Brāhmani duck of English writers). It was supposed to be separated from its male between sunset and sunrise,[71] and therefore welcomed the rising sun as the harbinger of reunion. In his *Sūryaśaṭaka*, (verse 12), Mayūra says, "Sūrya is treated with honour by the eyes of the ruddy-geese, fixed and longing for endearing words : *"cātuktiś cakranāmnām caturamavikalair locanair arcyamānaḥ"* Sūr. Śat. Ver. 12. The commentator of

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the verse says, "For when the blessed (Sūrya) garlanded by rays, has risen, there is a mutual reunion of the ruddy-geese, who have been separated.[72] Therefore, so it is said his rays are honoured with reverence." This reference enables us to identify the bird as Cakravāka, though from its appearance it resembles more a pigeon than a Cakravāka. As the pigeon is not mentioned in mythology relating to the sun, this misrepresentation of the bird may be a slight defect in the sculpture.

Among the many fine sculputres, which have been found in the debris around the temple at Konark, two images of Sūrya call for special notice. Once represents a combination of Sūrya and Śiva. Of the four hands of the figure, each of the upper two holds a full-blown lotus, and of the lower hands, the proper right one carries a *triśūla* or trident, the characteristic emblem of Śiva, while the left one is posed in *varada mudrā.*[73]

The other image represents the god seated on horseback, which is rare in solar iconography (Pl. XXXVI).[74]

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APPENDIX

SUN IMAGES FROM JAVA AND CEYLON

There are very few images of Sūrya found outside India proper, but it is remarkable that an interesting development of "sun images" is to be seen in Java, and the neighbouring islands. These images represent three distinct types : (1) Gupta, (2) influenced by Southern India, and (3) purely indigenous.

The earliest sun image from Java is found on a Caturmukha liṅga, preserved in the Indian Museum in Calcutta. It comes from Prambanan, and is wrought from yellowish sandstone (cf.A.S.I.A.R., 1924-'25, P.125, pl. XXXVIII a.).

A comparison of this image with the sun image seen in the niche at Bhumara, (ibid.pl.XXXVId), shows how close the resemblance is, and how much it is under the influence of the latter.

Another image of the late Gupta period is a bronze, representing the god, flanked by the bearded Piṅgala and the cleanshaven Daṇḍin. All the images have a halo, and a sword

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hangs at the proper left side of the god. Both images I have mentioned, wear the customary high boots and carry a full blown lotus flower in each hand. The curled locks of the god are very distinct. The bronze image bears an inscription in the Sāradā character, and on palaeographic grounds it may be assigned to the 5th or 6th century A.D. This image belongs to the collection of Mr. Steinmetz, in the Hague.

Another bronze belonging to Mr. Rensink in Soerabaya, probably represents the sun-god, standing erect upon a lotus cushion, as the feet have coverings, a feature peculiar to the images of Sūrya. The lotus flowers are broken off, but the form of the tunic is worth noticing.

The stone image of Sūrya found at Tj. Prambanan shows distinct influence of Southern India. As we have seen, in all the Northern images the feet of the god are covered; it is only in the South that Sūrya is invariably represented with bare feet.

Notwithstanding these obvious influences, the image remains a specimen of Javanese art. The figure stands upon a lotus cushion placed in his seven horse chariot. The two hands are raised to the waist, the right carrying a badly carved lotus flower, while the left supports the stem.

The mutilated sun-chariot found at Woeroeng (photo no. 2079 to 2081), in Java, shows seven horses in front and two wheels on each side. Unfortunately the figure of the god is missing, only a head has been found in the chariot, and it is not known whether it belonged to the original image. The four wheels of the chariot, do not accord with the iconographic descriptions found in the Saṁskṛt texts. Many scholars at-

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tribute this image to an early period, but its style induces me to believe that it can not be of an earlier date than the 9th or 10th century. (A.R.1907, p. 125).

Other images found in Java represent the deity seated upon a seven horse chariot. In photo no. 517, he is seated in *yogāsana*, holding a lotus flower in each hand resting upon his knees. A peculiarity of this image is the carving at the bottom which represents clouds. In photo no. 516, the god is seen seated in *bhogāsana* in the seven horse chariot. (cf.Groenvelt, Cat. Bat. Mu., pp.44 and 203). Photo no. 5282, the effigy is again seated in *yogāsana* in his chariot, holding an indistinct object in his right hand which is raised to his middle; the same carving is found at the bottom, supposed to represent clouds. The more remarkable thing in this image is that the back is also carved (photo no.1948; 74'.), it shows a male figure amongst the clouds, holding a sheaf of something in his hands, probably for the purpose of chasing away the darkness, a task which in most images in India proper is performed by the two attendants, Uṣas and Pratyuṣas with their bow and arrows.

Another statue was found about 1932, on a coffee plantation Karong Radjo, near Blitar (E.J.). The head of the deity is missing. The figure is corpulent and seated upon a serpent cushion, one knee swathed with a band. The horses are saddled, which is unusual in Javanese sun images.

Photo 703a, represents the god seated upon a high chariot with a lotus cushion. It is in the best state of preservation. (A.R.1908, p.47, 1902, pl.22.). All these images have a halo behind the head.

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It should be especially mentioned that some of the images found in Java have a five or six horse chariot, in contrast to the Indian representation which is always four or seven horses. This is probably due to five or six days week of Java (see Snelleman, Joh.F., Encyclopaedia van Nederlandsch-Inië, Leiden, 1905, pp.445 and 453.), and shows the images to be entirely indigenous. Photo 2532 shows five horses, the figure itself is lost. A more modern image, H.O.19, wrought in terracotta, represents six horses placed upon a lotus flower. The god is standing up in a shell shaped chariot with the reins in his left hand, while the right holds a goad.

The sun images in Ceylon are very similar to the images found in South India. A bronze image of Sūrya was found at Polonnarua. (Smith, History of Fine Arts, Oxford, 1911, p.253, fig.190). The god has a halo, and holds lotus bud in each hand which is raised to the shoulders.

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NOTES ON CHAPTER 1

1. Gilbert Murray, *Four Stages of Greek Religion*, p.17.

2. Radhakrishnan, *Indian Philosophy*, p.74.

3. Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism, Sir R.G. Bhandarkar, p.151.

4. R.V. 1.21, 154.

5. R.V. IV.53,2; 54,4;X. 149,1,4.

In the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, i.6,4,1 (p.117, it is said, *Prajāpati Savitā bhūtvā prajāḥ asṛjata*, Prajāpati, becoming Savitṛ, created living beings. On the relation of Savitṛ and Prajāpati, see Weber, *"Omina and Portenta,"* p.386, 392; and the passage of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, XII. 3,5,1, where it is said that people are accustomed to identify Savitṛ with Prajāpati, *yo hyeva Savitā sa Prajāpatiriti vadantaḥ*, etc. etc.

6. *Sūrya ātmā jagatas tasthusaśca*, R.V. 1.115,1.

7. *tvam bhānur jagataś cakṣus tvam ātmā sarvadehinām*, Mbh. V.166. A.V. v.24,9.

8. A.A. Macdonell, p.40. *Vedic Mythology*.

9. R.V. viii.90,11; x.37,1;88.

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10. R.V. x.37,4.

11. Though he is a son of Aditi, and one of the Ādityas, he sometimes appears to be distinguished from the Ādityas, as in R.V. viii. 35,13ff.

12. R.V. 1.24,8; vii.60,4; 87,1.

13. R.V. vi.58,3.

14. R.V. v.29,lo; x, 85,16,34; i.115,3,4;vii.60,3; 63,2; ix.63,7; x.37,3; 49,7.

15. R.V. vii.63,3.

16. R.V. viii.35,13; vii.75,5, etc.

17. *asau vā' Ādityo vivasvān eṣa hi ahorātre vivaste tameṣa vaste sarvato hyenena parivṛtaḥ.* Sat.Br.10,5,2,4. *(devāḥ ādityāḥ) yam (mārtaṇḍam) u ha tadvicakruḥ sa vivasvān ādityas tasyemāḥ prajāḥ* Śat.Br.3,1,3.4.

18. In the Vedic literature Tvaṣṭṛ is already more or less identified with Viśvakarman, a god of similar attributes, and who becomes absolutely identical with the latter in later literature.

19. See R.V. x.17,1f. and the interpretation of the hymnby Prof. Roth and remarks thereon, in the Journal of the German Oriental Society, iv.125f.; and the same writer's translation, in his Illustrations of the Nirukta, p.161, of a passage of the *Bṛhaddevatā* quoted by Sāyaṇa on R.V. vii,72,2, and *Nirukta,* xii.1cf.

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20. See M.Müller, *Con.Sc.My.* P.405; J.Muir, *Original Saṁkṛt Texts* Vol. V.p.321, and comp.R.V.vii.33,11, and Sāyaṇa on the same hymn and R.V. v.41,19; x.95,10.

21. Śat.Br.XI. 6, 3, 8; Bh.Pu.Brah.Par.adh.209, sls. 8-11; Padma Pu. Sṛṣṭi Khaṇḍa, adh. 76, sls. 24-27;

22. Jai. Utt. N.5, 1-3; 10,10; Śat.Br.II. 2,3,9; Brah. Pu. adh. 28, sls. 25-39;

23. Viṣṇudharmottara, part.I, adh. 3011, sls. 16-19;

24. R.V. iii.9,9; ii.27.1

25. M.Müller, op.cit., vol.I.p.45.

26. J.Muir, op.cit., vol.v.p.155 ff.

27. The root *Su* or *Sū* from which it is derived has three principal significations : (1) to generate or to bring forth; (2) to pour forth a libation; and to send or impel. But in the case of Savitṛ it is used much more in its lākṣaṇic than in its original sense. When treating derivatives of this root as applied to Savitṛ, Sāyana sometimes gives them the sense of sending or impelling, and sometimes of permitting or authorizing. In a few places he explains the root as meaning to beget (Thus on i.V.i.113,1, he renders *prasūta* by *utpanna*, and *savaḥ* by *Utpattiḥ*) The word Prasavitṛ, as well as various other derivatives of the root *Su* or *Sū* are to be found in numerous passages of the ṚgVeda in relation to the god Savitṛ. Readers are invited to compare the following passages of the ṚgVeda in which these derivatives occur. i.125, 1;157, 1;110, 1;159, 5;ii.38,1;iii.33,6

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(*Nir.*ii.28); 56,6; iv. 53,3;54,3; v.81,2;82,3; vi.71,1; vii.38,2;40,1;45,1; viii.91,6; x.35,7; 36,14;100,8;139,1; Comp.A.V.v.24,1; vii.14,1,3;15,1.

28. Nir.x.31.

29. R.V. i.115,1.

30. R.V. vii.63,4.

31.R.V.i.50,2,7; vi.51,2; vii.35,8; 60,2;61,1;63,1,4; x.37,1. Homer also says the same thing. See *Illiad*, iii.277; xiv.344 f. And he (Sūrya) is the superintending lord of the eyes, Sūryaś cakṣuṣān adhipatiḥ, A.V. v.24,9.

32. R.V. v.81,4; and Sāyaṇa on the same hymn.

33. R.V. iv. 53,6; vii.45,1.

34. R.V. ii.38.

35. M.Müller, loc.cit. vol.I. p.45.

36. R.V. i.35,8.

37. R.V. i.22,5; 35,9,10;iii. 54,11;vi.50,8;71,4; vii.38,2; Vāj.S. i.16; iv.25; A.V. iii.21,8; vii.14,2;115,2.

38. R.V. vi.71,3.

39. R.V. iv.53,2.

40. R.V. v.81,2.

41. R.V. x.139,1.

42. R.V.i.35,2-3; vii.45,1.

43. R.V.iii.38,8;vii.38,1;45,3.

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44. R.V. i.35,7,8;iv.14,2;53,4;v.81,2.

45. R.V.vi. 71,2; comp.iv.53,3;vii.45,1.

46. R.V.ii.38,3,4.

47. Ā.G.iii.7,4-6.

48. *Vedic Mythology*, p.34.

49. In.Ph. Vol.I.pp.133.

50. Op.Cit.

51. Ibid.p.118.

52. Hopkins, The Religions of India, p.151.

53. Whitney, P.A.O.S.iii.pp.307-8.

54. In.Ph.Vol.I.p.131.

57. R.V. X.121.

58. Cha.Up. 6.2.1.

59. In.Ph. Vol.I.p.138.

60. Jai.Utt.4,27,1; Sat.Br.12,3,5,1; Go.Pu.5,22; Jai.Utt. 4,27,3 and 4,27,13; Go.Pu.1,33.

61. Go.Pu. 1,33; Jai.Utt. 4,27,9.

62. Sat.Br.4,4,1,7; Kau.Br. 16,4; Sat.Br.6,3,1,13 and 15; Go.Pu.1,33; Jai.Utt. 4,27,15.

63. Ait.Br.1,19; Sat.Br.12,9,1,16; Go.Pu.1,33.

64. Ait.Br.4,20.

65. Yaj.Ved.1,11;37,20; Sat.Br.14,1,3,5; Go.Pu.1,33; Jai.Utt.4,27,7.

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66. Tait. Br. 2,1,5,2;

67. Tait.Br. 3.8,10,3; 3,8,7,2; 3,8,20,2.

68. Sat.Br. 2,1,2,18.

69. Sat.Br. 4,6,7,21.

70. Yaj.Ved. 37,11; Sat.Br. 14,1,3,4; 10,5,1,4; 2,3,3,7.

71. Go.Utt. 4,10; Ait.Br. 3,44.

72. Nirukta, Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta 1891, Vol.IV, pp.269-283.

73. Ch.Up. III, 1,1.

74. See also Kauśītakī Up. II, 7.

75. quoted in Vans Kennedy's "Researches into the Nature and Affinity of Ancient and Hindu Mythology," London 1831, p.346.

76. Mahābh. III, 3, slo.200; XIII, 139, slo. 1- 50.

77. adh. 80, slo.4. Suvarchalā is mentioned as a type of conjugal affection and devoted follower of Sūrya (Mah.XIII, 139, 1-50, 146, 5, R.II, 30,30; V;24,9) and a plant named Sūryamukhī (heliogropic) (Trikaṇḍaśeṣa, Bhāvaprakāśa Par.I.).

78. ibid., slo.9.

79. op.cit., slo.8.

80. loc.cit., slo.4.

81. Saṁjñā is mentioned in the Mahābhārata as the mother of Aśvins, XIII, 151, slo.1-82.

82. Bh.Pu. op.cit. slo.16-17.

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83. Viṣṇu Pu. adh. II, Mārkaṇḍeya Pu. adh. 77, and adh.78, sl.15-35, Padma Pu. adh.8, slo.36-74, Bh.Pu. adh.80,slo.4-80.

84. The Bhāgavata Pu., however, makes both, Saṁjñā and Chāyā daughters of Viśvakarman.

According to Matsya and Padma Pu., Vivasvat, the son of Kaśyapa and Aditī, had three wives, Rājñī, the daughter of Raivata, by who he had Revanta; Prabhā, by whom he had Prabhāta, and by Saṁjñā, the daughter of Tvaṣṭr, the Manu, Yama and Yamunā.

Besides them several other children are mentioned in the epics. His paternal affection for karṇa is a favourite topic in the Mahābhārata, see 1,3,1-31; 67,129-150; III,303,1-29, etc). The southern Seer Cakradhanus is also called his son (5,109,17), and is known as Kapila. Kapila is the name of the sun (3,3,24) as well as Viṣṇu (3,47,18), and the Kapilas (sāṅkhyas) are a sect especially favoured by the sun.

85. Every Purāṇa relates this legend with some variation, but of no great importance.

86. Mithra, ein Betrag zur Mythengeschichte des Orients, in the Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, Leipzig, 1857, pp.54 ff.

87. Bibl. Ind. Vol.II, p.164.

88. Aryaman is the sun who makes the division of day and night : *Aryamā ahorātravibhāgasyakartā devaḥ.* ibid. 1.90.1.

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89. Mihira Yast, see. S.B.E., Vol.XXIII, p.49.

90. Quoted in Max Muller's Sacred Books of the East, Vol.XXXI, p.XXX.

91. The name Magi occurs even in the New Testament. In the Gospel according to St. Matthew (ii.1), the Magi (Greek *magoi*, translated in the English Bible by "wise men") came from the East to Jerusalem, to worship the new born child Jesus at Bethlehem.

92. Treasure of the Magi, pp.62-63.

93. The circumstances under which these people migrated to India have been described in several ancient works. See Bh.Pu. adh.139- 141; Sāmva Purāṇa, adh. 7,10; and Maga Vyakti, by Kriṣnadāsa. Govindpur Inscription, in the Epigraphia Indica, Vol.II, p.333. Mr. S.K. Hodivala in his *"Parsis of Ancient India,"* has collected all the evidences as regards the identification of the Magas with the Persian Magi, see ch.10.

94. Catalogue of Sanskrit Mss. existing in Oudh. Sept. 1875, p.54; A.Weber, Uber zwei Parteischriften zu Gunsten der Maga, resp. Cākadvīpīya Brāhmaṇa.

95. *Yair na dattam sakṛt chrāddhe ṣasṭhadvīpadvijātaye*

nirāś aḥ pitaraś teṣām ś āpam datvā prayānti hī / 47-

ye niṇḍanti magān viprān te niṇḍanti ca Bhāskaram

see loc. cit. pp.35, 37, 38, etc.

96. Herodotus, the father of history (B.C.450) mentions in his book (ch.CXXXII). that Parsis believed that an attack of leprosy

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is a consequence of having sinned in one way or other against the sun. See Haug's Essays on the Parsis, London, 1907, p.7.

97. According to Śruti the moon-god is the king of Indian Brāhmaṇas : *somo vai rājā brāhmaṇināṃ.*

98. Haug's ibid. p. 298.

99. Basu, N.N., Mayurabhanja, A.S., Intro. V.

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NOTES ON CHAPTER II

1. *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Madras 1914.

2. Ibid. Itrod. XII, p.42.

3. op. cit. XI, p.47.

4. op. cit., p.58.

5. adh. 68, sloka 5 to 9.

6. quoted by Mr. Bhattasali in his book. p.156.

7. Rao, loc. cit., p.311.

8. *Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanical Sculptures in the Dacca Museum*, Dacca, 1929, p.149.

9. The correct reading of the word is *'karaṇḍa-mukuṭa'*.

10. These quotations are taken from Mr. Rao's above mentioned book, appendix C. pp.83, 84 and 90.

11. loc. cit., p.90. See ibid. pl. LXXXVI.

12. loc. cit., pl. 84, p.XCII.

13. ibid. p.89.

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14. See verses 49 and 50 of the same *adhyāya*, and compare the *Bhaviṣya purāṇa*, adh.55, slo.77 to 82; 56,4 to 9; 58,24 to 26; and 77,10 to 14.

15. This passage evidently refers to a temple of Sūrya with subsidiary shrines around. I have quoted it with the iconographic texts, because in some sculptures the arrangement of the attendants seems to follow the same direction.

Bhaviṣya Purāṇa (adh. 130, slo.17 to 37 and 48 - 49) gives an elaborate description of a temple of Sūrya. But we could not illustrate the type as earlier temples of Sūrya have almost all been destroyed.

A list of earlier sun-temples is given below.

Marble temple at Varman in the Sirohi State, Rajpitana (A.S.I., A.R. 1916-17, p.14, pl.IX B; Mārtanda, (Kak, K.C., *Ancient Monuments of Kashmir*, London 1933, pp.131 ff., pl.LII and XXIII); Multan (A.S.I., A.R., 1913-14, p.120), Osia (A.R. Bombay Branch 1907); Taxila (A.S.I., A.R. 1912-13, p.8); Kanthhat (A.S.I.Bom.Bran. 1905-06); Kalai, Vasantagaḍh, Vasā; Raipur, 1907-08; Mudhera, Bamnera, 1908-09; Madhera, 1914-15; Natāra, Serohi State, Andara, Varman, Salwā (Bharatpur) 1917; Garhwa fort. 1918-19; Konark, 1907-08, and '18-19; Nālandā, ibid.; Somanath-Pattan, *Somanath and mediaeval temples in Kāthiāwād*, pl.XII; Sutrapada, pls.XL to XLII; Thāna, XLVI and XLVII; Suryanārkkoil, (Rao, Vol.I, pl.II, p.300). Devakarunarka, A.S.I., A.R.

16. The text reads *nimbastu*, which seems incorrect, though the note explains *nimbaḥśriparṇa vṛikṣaśca vāmā rājñō pravartitaḥ*.

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17. Archaeological Survey of Mayurbhanja State, p.85.

18. The text reads 'Viyadgavṛtah', he should be surrounded with heavenly bodies.

19. Bhattsali, ibid. p.150.

20. Edited by Sri Jivananda Vidyasagara, Sarasvatī Yantrālaya, Calcutta 1876.

21. The altered words are marked in our text, readers are refered to compare the reading given by Mr. Rao.

22. See Bh.Pu.

23. Śabdakalpadruma, edi. Ramanarayaṇa Press, Calcutta Sāke 1809.

24. Sometimes it occurs (in India) that people who have not any child consider a tree as their own child and take every care of its safety and welfare. The trees are called putraka-vṛkṣa.

25. Elephants are considered a form of God Ganeśa, , and therefore those trees which are preserved to feed elephants nobody uses for other purposes.

26. Mṛcch. 143, 17.

27. Bh. Pu. Adh. 123, slo.55-60 and 77-81.

28. Adh. 11, slo.31-32.

29. Adh. 58, slo.

30. H.I.I.A., p. 66.

31. *Vogel, Catalogue, pl. Coomaraswamy,* ibid., pl;.XVIII, 64.

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32. Coomaraswamy, op. cit., p.68. According to Mr. Agrawala and Mr. Diskalkar this figure also represents the sun-god.

33. Rao, Iconography, Vol.I, Appendix C pp.87.f.

34. See chapter 5, p.

35. loc. cit., p.

36. Bh. Pu. Brah. Parva. Adh. 169, slo. 4.

37. ibid. Adh. 58, slo.25.

38. H.I.I.A., p.25, pl.VII, 26.

39. *The Mythology and Fables of the Ancients*, quoted in 'The sun-lore of all ages', p.86.

40. R.V. 1, 115,3,4; 7,60,3; 1,50,8; 4,13,3; 5,45,9; Mahābhārata, 7, 189,54; Mārkaṇḍeya Purāna, 107,2; Viṣṇu Purāṇa, 2,8; Sūrya Śataka, stanzas, 45,57,92.

41. Adh. 40.

42. Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, Adh. 104, slo.28; Bh.Pu. Adh.77, slo.11; Viṣṇu Dharmottara, 3rd Khaṇḍa, Adh. 67, slo.12; Viṣṇu Pu. Adh. 2, slo.8.

43. R.V. 1,50,8; 2,60,3; Sūrya Śataka, Stanzas, 7,47,49; stanza 46, note 8; Caṇḍikāśataka, stanze 8, note 2.

44. In the Purāṇas the mountain is described greenish.

45. Brāh. Parva, Adh. 169, slo.4.

46. R.V., 4,28,2; 5,29,10; Mahābh. 7,189,54; 12,362,1; Ratnāvalī (ed. Parab and Jośi, Bombay, 1888), 3,5; Kāvyādarśa, 2,328; Sūryaśataka, stanza 59; Chaṇḍikāśataka, stanza 99;

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The Madhuban Plate of Harṣa (7th century A.D.), as pub. in Epigraphica Indica, vol.7, p.159, note 2. For the elaborate description of Sūrya's chariot see Bh. Pu. Adh.52, slo.8-49; and the Viṣṇu pu. Adh.10.

47. R.V. 10,85,16.

48. R.V. 5,29,10.

49. R.V. 1,164,2.

50. Vol.I. English translation by Mrs. S. Ketkar, Calcutta 1927, p.117.

51. Bh.Pu.

52. Bhattasali.

53. Mahābh. 1,16, 13-24.

54. ibid. 1,24, 5-18.

55. Brāh. Parv. Adh. 142, slo.1-4 and 9-25.

56. ibid., slo.4.

57. ibid., slo.15.

58. op. cit., slo. 10-11.

59. Moulton, James Hope, *The treasure of the Magi*, Oxford University Press, 1917, p.161.

60. ibid.

61. janmanā jāyate śūdraḥ samskārād dvija ucyate, Manu.

62. Houg, Martin, *Essays on the sacred language, writing, and religion of the Parsis*, London, 1907, p.286.

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63. Adh.62, slo.4.

64. Adh. 125, slo.1-6.

65. Bh.Pu. Adh.125, slo.1.

66. ibid., slo.19.

67. Adh. 62, slo.6.

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NOTES ON CHAPTER III

1. Coomaraswamy, H.I.I.A.p.67.

2. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, vol.XX, No.122, p.72.

3. Bh.Pu. describes the four-horse chariot of Sūrya, see the last chapter, p.

4. Cunningham, A.S.I.R. 1871-'72, Vol.III, p.97.

5. J.R.A.S., 1907-'08, p.1097.

6. Except the Bh.Pu., see note 3.

7. Vatsyāyana, *Kāmasūtra; Pañcatantra;*

In the south side of the back wall of the Daśa Avatāra cave at Elura (c.6th century), Śiva is represented on a four-horse chariot, having Brahmā as his charioteer. See C.T.I. p.438; Dubrevil, Iconography of Southern India, translated from French by A.C. Marten, Paris, 1937.p.XIV.

Various terra-cotta fragments that were unearthed at Bhita depict these four-horse chariots, some with riders. (C.H.I.pl.XXIX,81).

In this connection, reference may be made to a terra-cotta plaque there supposed to represent Duṣyanta's hunt, as narrated by Kālidāsa's 'Abhijñāna Śākuntalam', see

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A.S.I.A.R.,1911-'12 p.73, pl.XXIV. Bharhut and Sañchi railings bear on them many representations of the chariot drawn by four horses.

8. Hopkins, Epic Mythology. p.87.

9. In classical art the sun-god is always represented alone. See the well known classical representation of Phoebus Apollo, A.S.I.R. loc.cit.pl.XXVII,2.

10. See the first chapter, p.

11. Marshall, Sir John, *"Influence of race on early Indian art."* Rupam, No. 18, April 1924, p.71.

12. ibid.p.70.

13. Jayaswal, K.P., *"Terra-cottas dug out at Patna,"* Journal of The India Society of Oriental art. Vol.III, No.2, Dec.1935, pp.125, pl.XXX, fig.2.3.

14. Marshall, J.R.A.S., 1908, p.1097.

15. loc.cit. p.25.

16. Fergusson and Burgess, *"Cave Temples of India"*, London 1840, p. 521.

17. H.I.I.A. p.25.

18. C.T.I. p.517.

19. ibid.

20. Marshall, Cambridge History of India, Cambridge, 1922, Vol.I, p.637; H.I.I.A. pp.27.

21. H.I.I.A. p.27.

22. C.T.I. p.55.

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23. See C.H.I. Vol.I. pl.XXVIII, fig.75.

24. loc.cit. p.640.

25. Coomaraswamy, Ans Asiatica XVIII, La Sculpture de Bodhgayā, Paris 1935, pl. XI, pateau 8., pl.CVI, 1-2; LIII.2; XXXIII, pateau 64.

26. C.T.I. pl.I.fig.1-2.

27. ibid. p.27.

28. C.H.I. p.640.

29.H.I.I.A.p.38.

30. Banerji, R.D., Eastern Indian School of Mediaeval Period, Delhi, 1933, p.8.

31. J.B.O.R.S., Vol.XIII, pp. 243-'4; Banerji, History of Orissa, p.82.

32. H.O. ibid.

33. C.H.I. p. 640.

34. ibid.

35. H.I.I.A. p.15.

36. See page.

37. Mah. XIII, 95, 96.

38. Cunningham, Vol.III, p.96.

39. A.S.I.A.R. 1908-'09, p.147.

40. Cunningham, Coins of Ancient India, 1891, pp.80 and 84.

41. A.S.I.A.R. 1908-'09, p.147.

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42. This pillar has been found by Rai Bahadur Prayag Dayal, Curator, Provincial Museum, Lucknow, in the village Lala Bhagat, 45 miles from Cawnpore. It is an octagonal pillar of red sandstone, 6',3" high, with sides, alternately 7" and 6" in width. One of the 7" sides is elaborately carved in low relief almost from top to bottom. A description of the pillar has been published by the Rai Bahadur in the pages of the 'Journal of the United Province Historical Society, 'Vol.IV.part 2, July 1930, pp.38-41, with 5 plates.

I am indebted to the Rai Bahadur for the information in his article.

43. Mah. 1.30.7; Ram. 3.35.15 f.; Śrimadbhāgavata, skandha 5, adh.21, sloka 17.

44. Mah. III, 142.5.

45. The modelling and the muscular delineation in the umbilical region of this figure are very delicate and graceful and remind us of the famous Didarganj statue of the Patna Museum. See J.B.O.R.S. Vol.V. pl.I, p.100.

46. J.U.P.H.S. p.40.

47. Sāhityadarpaṇa, 7.23.

48. Meghadūta, 11.

49. Kāvyamīmāṁsā, II; Sāhityadarpaṇa, 7,25; E.W. Hopkins, 'Epic Mythology, p.20.

50. Mah. I, 66.60 and 63.

51. Mah. VI. 95,34.

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52. Mah.V. 99,7.

53. Quoted in H.I.I.A. p.26.

54. Ram. XII, 264, 11.

55. Sat. Br. XII. 4,1,11.

56. Aruṇa gave a cock to Kumāra Kārttikeya as a gift. See Mah. IX, 45, 51. Could this have any bearing upon the inscription (Kumāra) on the pillar? For the representation of cock with Kārttikeya see Ms. 9 of cat and Handbook of the Indian Museum part II, p.337, Banerje, Eastern Indian School of Mediaeval Sculptures, pl.LXI,d.

57. Śabdaratnāvalī and Śabdakalpadruma, p.133.

This suggestive name probably was given to the cock because of its habit of crowing early in the morning. In the well-known myth of Ahalyā and Gautama, the Ṛṣi was deceived by Indra with the false crow of a cock which made him believe that dawn had arrived. See Mah. V.12,1f.

58. Vāj. Sam. 31, 22a; Vaj.Sam. K., 35,22a.

59. Compare with Sat. Br. 10,2,6,16; Tait.Br. 3,8,16,4; Ait.Br. 3,48.

60. See J.U.P.H.S. op.cit.pl.II.

61. Life of Hiuen Tsiang, by S.Beal, London (1914 ed.),

62. J.U.P.H.S. loc.cit.p.40.

63. ibid.p.41.

64. La Géographie de Ptolémée l'Inde (VII, 1-4) ed. by, Renou, Louis, Paris, 1925, p.23, (Livre VII, Chapitre 1,50).

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65. Vogel, Prof.J.Ph., 'The Mathura School of Sculpture'. A.S.I.A.R., 1906-'07, p.142.

66. H.I.I.A. p.49.

67. Vogel, loc.cit. p.147.

68. Foucher, A., 'L' Art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhara (Paris 1905), tome I, pp.222 and 615.

69. Vogel. op.cit. p.145.

70. H.I.I.A. p.56.

71. ibid.

72. See H.I.I.A. pl. XVIII. fig.64.

73. Because the fire-altar represented on the pilaster, is similar to those seen in the coins of Kaniṣka and Kadphises II, See J.U.P.H.S. vol.V. part I, p.33.

According to Mr. Diskalkar, it is an image of Sūrya, but as a fire-altar has no significations in connection with an image of Sūrya, it is rather hazardous to indentify the image as that of Sūrya.

74. Museum Bulletin, Dec. 1922, vol.XX, No.122, p.72.

75. H.I.I.A. pl.XVIII, fig.65.

76. J.R.A.S. 1917, p.599.

77. Vogel, A.S.I.A.R. 1906-'07, p.153.

78. H.I.I.A., pl.XXIX, 103.

79. See note 72.

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80. This theory was forwarded by Prof. Vogel, but now he believes that it is simply the back of the throne.

81. Diskalkar, loc.cit. p.33.

82. See J.U.P.H.S. pl.12 iii.

83. ibid.

84. Diskalkar op.cit. p.36.

85. loc.cit. cf. A.S.R.N.C., 1916-'17, p.9.

86. Diskalkar, op.cit. pl. 12 ii; A.S.R.N.C., 1916-'17.

87. It looks like (palm ?) leaves. The same object is seen with the image at Garhwa (A.S.M. fig.142) and at Elura. How this representation came into use and what it indicates, is yet a matter of mystery. However, it seems to me that it was the prototype of the representation of the lotus flowers held by the god. It is interesting to note that before the Kuṣāṇa period the lotus does not appear as an emblem of the god, although on the Lala Bhagat pillar, for the first time, it is sculptured with Sūrya under the feet of the horses; probably to show its intimate connection with the god.

88. C.T.I. pl.LXXXIII.2.

89. Journal of the India Society of Oriental Art, Vol.V, 1937, pl.XV.fig.3.

90. op.cit. pp.128.

91. loc.cit. pp.33.f.

92. Hargreaves, H., 'Handbook to the Sculptures in the Peshawar Museum; Calcutta, 1930, p.1.

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93. ibid.

94. loc.cit.

95. Marshall, Rupam, ibid, p.72.

96. In Śālahotra, mention is made of winged horses.

97. ibid.

98. According to Mr. Anderson (Catalogue and Handbook of the Archaeological Collections in the Indian Museum, Calcutta 1883, part I, p.229) it is a male figure, but in Gandhāra art, I have not seen any male figure wearing anklets. It is true that the breasts of the figure are not prominent and so it is not possible to decide its sex precisely, but there are examples in Gandhāra art where, though the breasts are not prominent, the figures represented are undoubtedly female. See Marshall's 'A guide to Taxila', pl.VIIIa.

99. See note 42.

100. Hargreaves, ibid, p.11.

The description is mainly taken from Mr. Anderson's Cat. though I have somewhat altered the wording so as to make it more complete and clear.

101. Guide to the Sculptures in the Indian Museum Delhi 1937, part II.p.113.

102. See Aiyar V.Natesā, "Trimurti images in the Peshawar Museum", A.S.I.A.R. 1913-14, pp.276, pl.LXXIIa.

103. G.T. pl. III, 23.

104. Aiyar, ibid, p.277.

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105. A.S.I.A.R. 1908-'09, p.50.pl.XIIa.

106. Hackins, J., Codard, Y, and A., *Les Antiquités bouddhiques* de Bāmiyān, Paris, 1918, pl.XXII and fig.6, p.12; Rowland, B., *The wall-paintings of India, Central Asia, and Ceylon*, Boston, 1938, pl.6; and *Buddha and the Sun God*, reprint from *Zolmoxis. I*, Paris 1938, p.69, pl.1.

107. An. Bibl. I.A.Vol.XII, Leiden, 1939, p.32.

108. Zolmoxis, ibid. pl. VII.fig.7.

109. Memoirs de la Délagation Archéologique Francaise sur Afghanistan. English translation in the Jou .Gr. Ind. Soc. Vol.III. (1936).

110. For the English translation I am highly indebted to my *Guru* Prof. Vogel.

111. Atlas des ustensils antiques d'argent et d' or d'origine orientals trouveé principalment dans les limites de l'Empire Russe. St. Petersburg, 1909 (en russe) pl.CXXII, no. 308.

112. J.G.I.S. ibid. p.35.

113. Vogel, Cat.Del. Mus. Arch., Calcutta 1908, p.2.

114. p.90, Published by Rutledge & Sons, London, 1908.

115. See Cat.Del.Mes.Arch.1913.

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NOTES ON CHAPTER IV

1. Fleet, Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Vol.III, Inscriptions of The Early Gupta Kings, Calcutta, 1888. pp.70,80,126,162,218, and 210 respectively.

2. Garhwa is a deserted site about a mile and a half south of Bhatgarh, 25 miles south-west from Allahabad, and 5 miles north- west from the railway station of Sivarajpur. See, Jas.Burgess, A.M.I. part II, p.28, pl.242; Cunningham, A.S.I.R. Vol.III, p.54; Vol.X, p.13, pl.VII.A; Proc.As.Soc. Beng. 1814, p.124; V.A. Smith, Indian Sculpt. Gupta Period, p.13; Führer, Monum. Antiq., pp.135 f.

3. See Fleet loc. cit. pp.37 f.

4. The village of Bhumara is situated on the top of a plateau, 12 miles to the west of Unchehra, a town in the State of Nagod, where the chief of the State resides at present. In 1920, Mr. J.P. Joglekar and Mr. N.A. Wartekar discovered the temple in the heart of the Jungle, close to the village of Bhumara. See R.D. Banerji, A.S.I. Memoirs No. 16 (1914), p.13, pl.XIV a; A.S.I.A.R. 1924-'25, pl.XXXVI d; cf. Jouveau-Dubreuil, Bull. A.F.A.O. No.16 (April 1934), p.39.

5. Banerji, Memoirs ibid. pp.11 f.

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6. The left figure, according to M.Jouveau-Dubreuil *(ibid).*, represents Aruṇa, the charioteer of the god, as his dress is similar to that of Chandaka in the Nagarjunikonda sculptures. The author believes that it is not Scythian dress but it was the uniform of charioteers in those days. In that case how are we to explain the second figure? We are unable to agree with M.Dubreuil in identifying the figure as the Aśvins, because Aśvins are always represented in pairs, both in mythology and in sculpture. We prefer to identify the figures with Daṇḍin and Piṅgala, who are commonly associated with sun images from the time of the Kuṣaṇa period.

7. op.cit. p.3.

8. The description of the image is mainly based on that given by Mr. Diskalkar. op.cit.p.35.

9. This village is situated on the right bank of the Sakari river, about nine miles to the south-east of Bihar, the chief town of the Bihar Sub-Division of the Patna District in the Bihar province.

10. Fleet, loc.cit. pp.208 f.

11. ibid. pp.209 f.

12. A.S.I., A.R., 1909-'10, pp.93 f. pl.XLIII, 6.

13. H.I.I.A., p.92.

14. op. cit.; A.S.I., A.R., 1915-'16, p.12, and A.S.I., A.R. E.C. pp.36 f.

15. Coomaraswamy, ibid.

16. ibid.

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17. ibid. p.93.

18. Chanda, Ramaprasad, Medieval Indian Sculptures In the British Museum, London, 1936. p.39.

19. French, J.C., The Art of the Pala Empire of Bengal, London, 1928, p.7.

20. Quoted by French, ibid. p.8.

21. Mahendrapāla, a Pratihara prince of Kanauj, invaded and occupied most of the territory of the Pālas of Bengal.

22. French, ibid. p.15.

23. Banerji, R.D., Eastern Indian School of Mediaeval Sculpture.

24. op.cit., p.4.

25. Stella Kramrisch, Pala & Sena Sculptures, 'Rupam', Oct.1917. fig.4.

26. See Appendix.

27. Annual report of the Varendra Research Society, 1926-'27, fig.1. p.2. f.

28. I.H.Q. Vol. IX, pp.202 ff., fig. 1.

29. Memoi. A.S.I., No. 16, pl. III; IV; X; XII.

30. A.S.R., Vol.I. (1861-'62), p.36. Kramrisch, ibid. fig.5., Burgess, A.M.I., pl. 233, p.28.

31. *meṣe dineśe puruṣaḥ suveśeḥ satsāhasaḥ syān nṛpateḥ samānaḥ,*

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budhyāyutaḥ pittakṛtā ca pīḍā vaktrodbhavā vā satatam mahaujāḥ.

Jyotiṣtattva.

32. U.P.Prov. Mus. Ann. Rep. 1930-'31, pp.2-3.

33. An image of a later date is reproduced in Rao's Iconography, pl. CIV fig.1, It is worshipped in Belur. The god is represented here with four hands, the two upper ones holding Śaṁkha and Cakra, and the lower carrying lotus flowers. The feet of the god as far as the knees are not carved at all. He stands on a seven-horse car, with Aruṇa in front. The influence of Vaiṣṇavism on Saura religion is clearly apparent.

34. C.T.I. pl.LXXXIII, 2. and Rao, ibid. LXXXVIII, fig.2.

35. A.S.I.A.R., 1922-'23, pl.XXXIII, fig.C.

36. ibid. p.123.

37. A.S.I.A.R., 1922-'23, pp.92 f. pl.V, fig.a.

38. See page

39. Bh.Pu.adh.125, 13-20.

40. Representation of the sun and planets is seen on a lotus-petal found at Konark. See A.S.I.A.R., 1903-'04, p.47.

41. A.S.I.A.R., 1922-'23, p.92.

42. A.P.R., N.C., 1912-

43. Prog. Rep.Panj.U.P., 1904-'05, p.51.

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44. I am highly indebted to Mr. A.K. Pandey, the Ex-Minister for Home Affairs in the Oracha state, for the photograph and other information about the image.

45. A.P.R.N.C. 1909-'10.

46. In the Epics and Purāṇas, Aśvins are mentioned as 'devabhisajau', the physicians of the gods. See Epic Mythology, p.168. Probably the artist meant to convey the same idea.

A single Aśvin is mentioned in the Harivanśa Purāṇa, slo.13591.

47. A.P.R.N.C. 1917.

48. Sat. Brah. 6,1,3,7ff.

49. Bhandarkar, Vai.Sai. p.182.

50. Nir. 7,5.

51. A.S.I.A.R., 1913-'14. pp.279-81.

52. Bhattasali, loc.cit. p.XIX, p.172.

53. It is interesting to notice that this decoration is only seen in connection with images of the sun and of Mārīci, the goddess of dawn, in the Buddhist Tantrism.

It is also probable that this design represents the *Makarasaṅkrānti.*

54. Daya Rama Sahni, Catalogue of the Museum of Archaeology at Sarnath, Calcutta, 1914, p.322.

55. ibid.

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56. Bhattacarya, B.C., Indian Images, Calcutta 1921, part I, pl.X.

57. A.S.I.A.R., 1909-'10, pl.XLIII.6, p.97.

58. Rao, ibid. pl. LXXXIX, p.314.

59. J.R.A.S., 1908, pl.IV.7, p. 1097.

60. Rao, ibid. p;. LXXXVIII, fig.1.

61. V.R.S., A.R. 1927-'28, fig.3, p.3.

62. Ed. by U.N. Mukherjee, Calcutta, 1821, B.S. p.126.

63. J.A.S.B., N.S., Vol.26 (1932), pp.147 ff., pl.2.

64. Mr. N. Chakravarti and S.K. Saraswati, ibid., p.149.

65. V.R.S.A.R., 1932 to 34, pp.15 ff. pl.1.

66. Rao, loc.cit. Appendix p.88.

67. J.A.S.B., N.S., XXVIII, (1932), pp.191 f. pl.8, fig.3.

68. V.R.S.A.R., 1929-'30, pp.9-10, fig.2.

69. J.A.S.B. Vol. VI. pp.465 f.

70. A.S.I.A.R., E.C., 1920-'21, p.32, pl.II, no.1.

71. Kālidāsa, *Kumārasambhava*, 5, 26; Stuart Baker, Ducks and their Allies, (1921), pp.146-7; Hwister, A popular Hand Book of Indian Birds, (1928), p.407; Hume and Marshall, The Game Birds of India, Burmah and Ceylon, Vol.II, (1879), p.38.

72. In the classical period, the Chakravāka is regarded as a type of conjugal fidelity, and even as early as the Atharva Veda, (XIV.2,64) is held up as a model to the bride and bridegroom in the marriage ceremony.

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73. A.R.A.S., E.C., 1908-'09. p.21.

74. Banerji, R.D., H.O. vol. II. facing the page 432.

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STELLINGEN

I

Solar worship in India received a new impetus by the *Saka-Pahlava* invasions.

II

Sanskrit *viyanga* has a meaning different from that of Avestic *aiwiyaonghana*, from which it probably is derived. (cf. Kern, Verspreide Geschriften II, p.49, n.2).

III

The *Surya* images found in Java show three different types : (1) Gupta; (2) South Indian; (3) indigenous.

IV

Sir Alexander Cunningham rightly assumes that a group of Indo- Sasanian coins, show the effigy of the sun-god of Multan (cf. Whitehead R.B., Numismatic Chronicle, Vol. XVII, pp. 60-72).

V

The suggestion made by Dr. W.W. Tarn (The Greeks in Bactria and India 1938, pp. 321 f.) that a seated figure on the reverse side of a copper coin of Maues in the Lahore Museum (Lahore

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Coin Catalogue, vol.I, plate X, 31) represents Buddha cannot be accepted.

VI

Kunjarakunjadesa mentioned in the *Tjanggal* inscription most probably derived its name from a sanctity in Southern India and is to be sought in Central Java (Cf. Dr. W.F. Stutterheim, Tijdschrift v. Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde LXXIX, I pp.73 ff.)

VII

Mr. Ramaprasad Chanda rightly arrives at the following conclusion : The monumental and literary evidences converge to prove that the Javanese temples with storied super-structures have their prototype in the storied temples of the Gupta period in India and the Gupta art including both architecture and sculpture is the parent of the Indo-Javanese art which in its island home developed on independent lines." (A.S.I., A.R. 1924-1925).

VIII

The opinion expressed by the followers of the *Dvaitavada* (dualism) that *Sankaracarya* was a *Pracchanna-buddha* (Buddha in disguise) is perfectly correct.

IX

The scheme of the development of Buddhist philosophy on the assumption of three successive periods of 500 years each (realism, monism and idealism) as expounded by Th. Stcherbatsky in his Buddhist Logic, Conception of Nirvana, and other works, is erroneous. (cf. St. Schayer, O.L.Z. 1935, pp. 401 ff.

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Das Mahayanistische Absolutum; Id. Precanonical Buddhism, Archiv. Orientalni, VII, 1-2, pp. 121 ff.; etc.)

X

There is an urgent need of an up to date comparative geographical dictionary of ancient India, derived from literary as well as from archaeological sources.

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Plate I

Terracotta plaque from Patna.

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Plate II

Bas-relief in Bhaja Cave.

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Sūrya at Anantagumphā, Khaṇḍgiri, Orissa.

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Plate IV

Sūrya on a railing pillar at Bodhgaya.

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Plate V

Sūrya on Lala Bhagat pillar.

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Sūrya from Mathura.

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Plate VII

Sūrya from Mathura, Mathura Museum No. 936.

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Plate VIII

Sūrya from Mathura, Mathura Museum No. 269.

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Sūrya from Mathura, Mathura Museum No. 930.

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Plate X

Sūrya from Mathura, Mathura Museum No. D. 46.

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Plate XI

Brass image of Sūrya from Brindaban, Mathura Museum No. 522.

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Plate XII

Bust of Sūrya, Mathura Museum No. 1007.

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Gandhāra Sūrya, No. G. 58 of the Indian Museum, Calcutta.

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Plate XIV

Sūrya on the relic-casket of Kaniṣka from Shāhjī- kī-ḍherī, Peshawar.

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Plate XV

Painting of Sūrya at Bamiyan.

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Sūrya image from Khaira Khaneh, Afghanistan.

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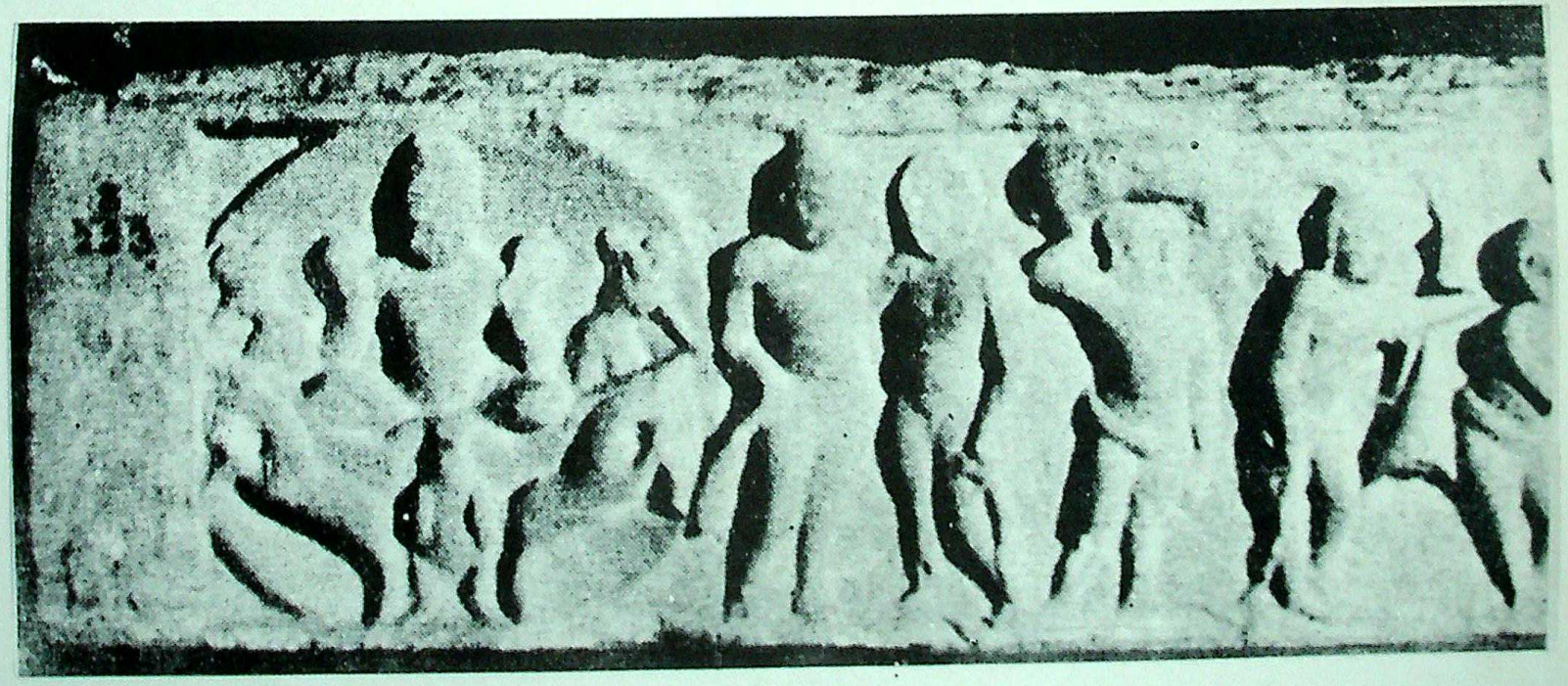
Plate XVII



Sūrya on a frieze of architrave from Garhwa.

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Sūrya from Ghosna Khera, Mathura Museum No. 595.

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Sūrya from Deora, Bogra District.

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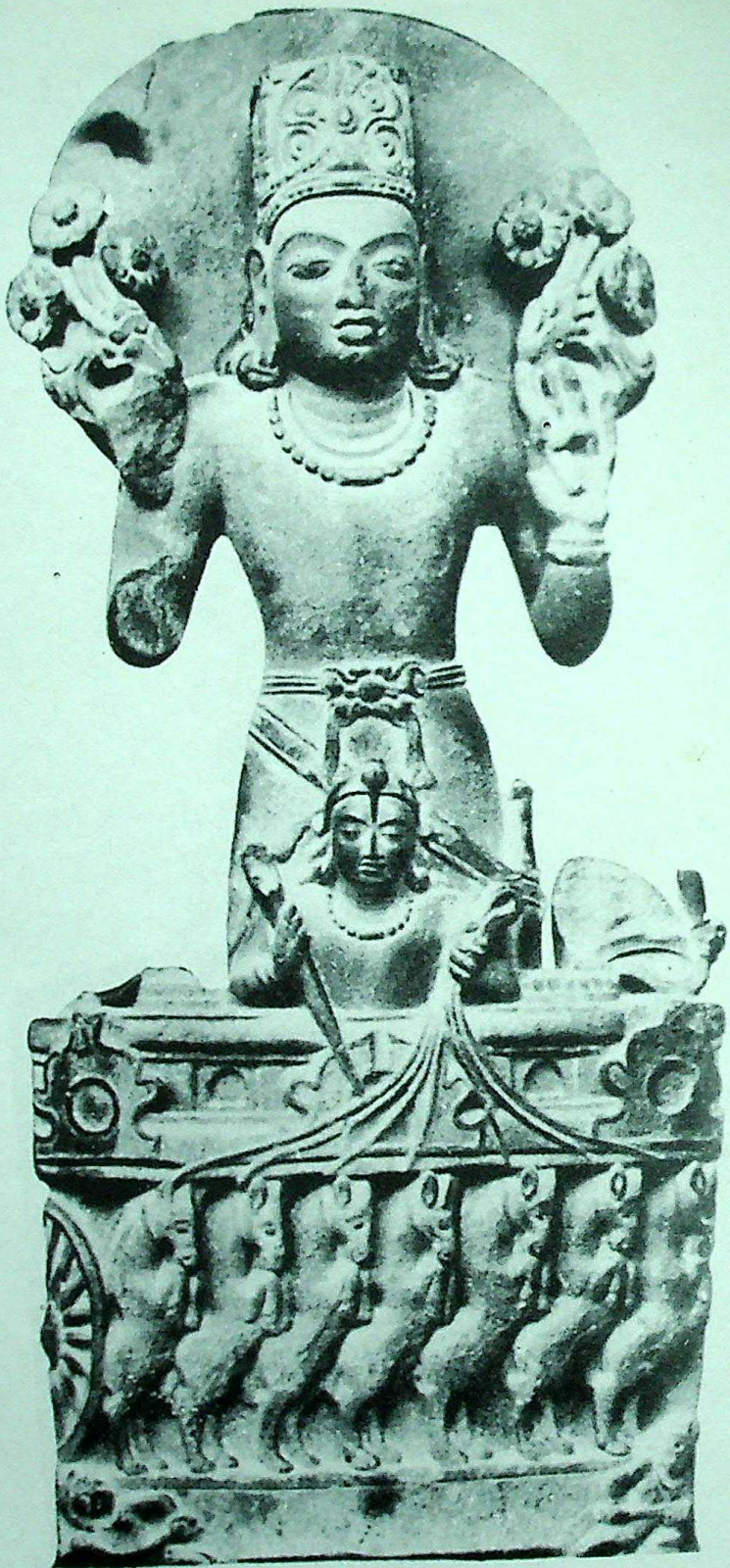

Sūrya from Kashipur, Alipore.

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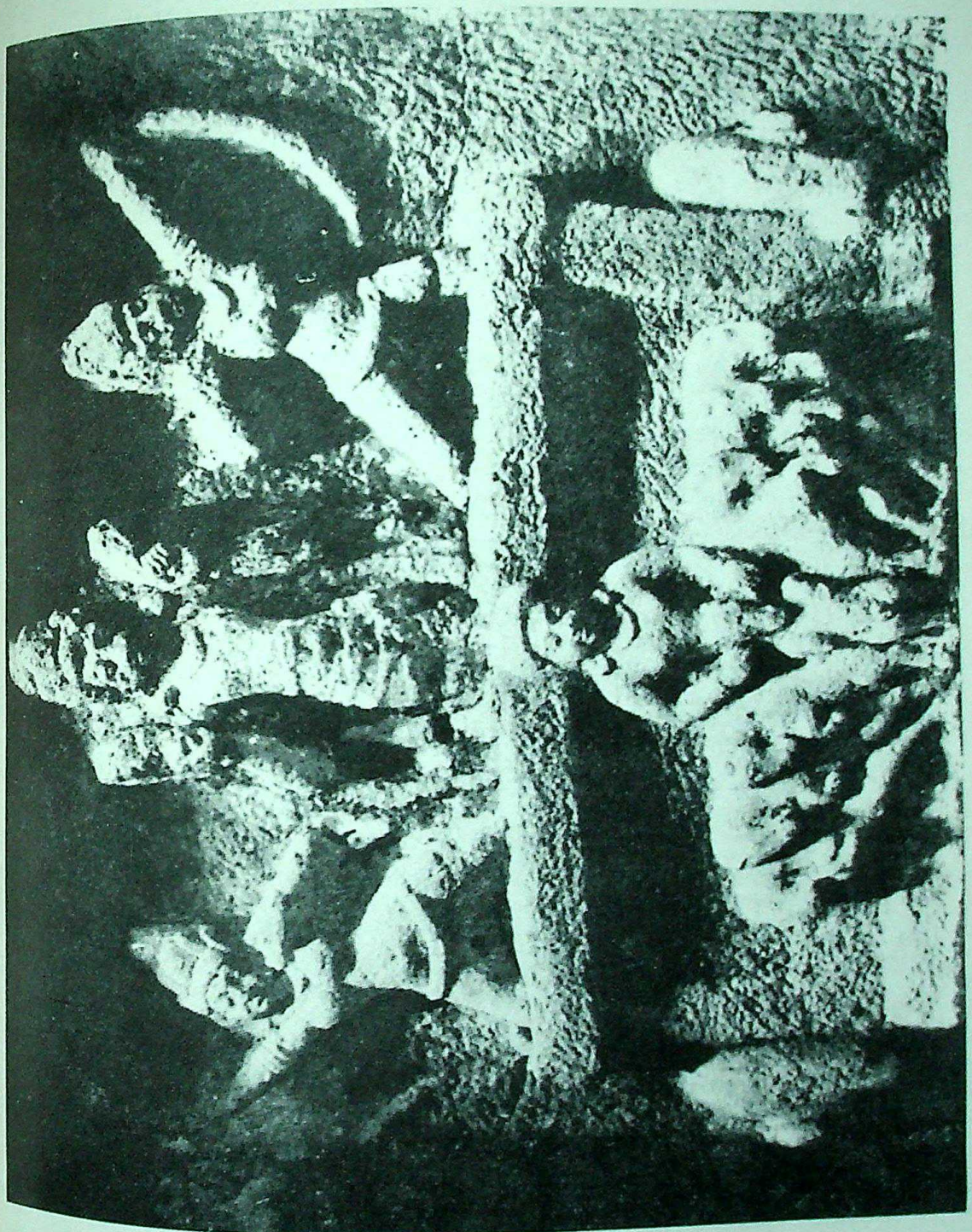

Sūrya at Kumbharwada Cave, Elura.

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Plate XXII Close up of plate XXI

Aruṇa and seven horses of chariot.

Plate XXIII Close up of plate XXI.

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Plate XXIII Close up of plate XXI.

No. 1. - Pratyuṣas.

No. 2. - Uṣas.

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Sūrya from Mrohaung, Akyab District, Burma.

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Sūrya from Hansi, Hissar District.

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Sūrya images in Rajasthan Museum.

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Sūrya in Rajputana Museum.

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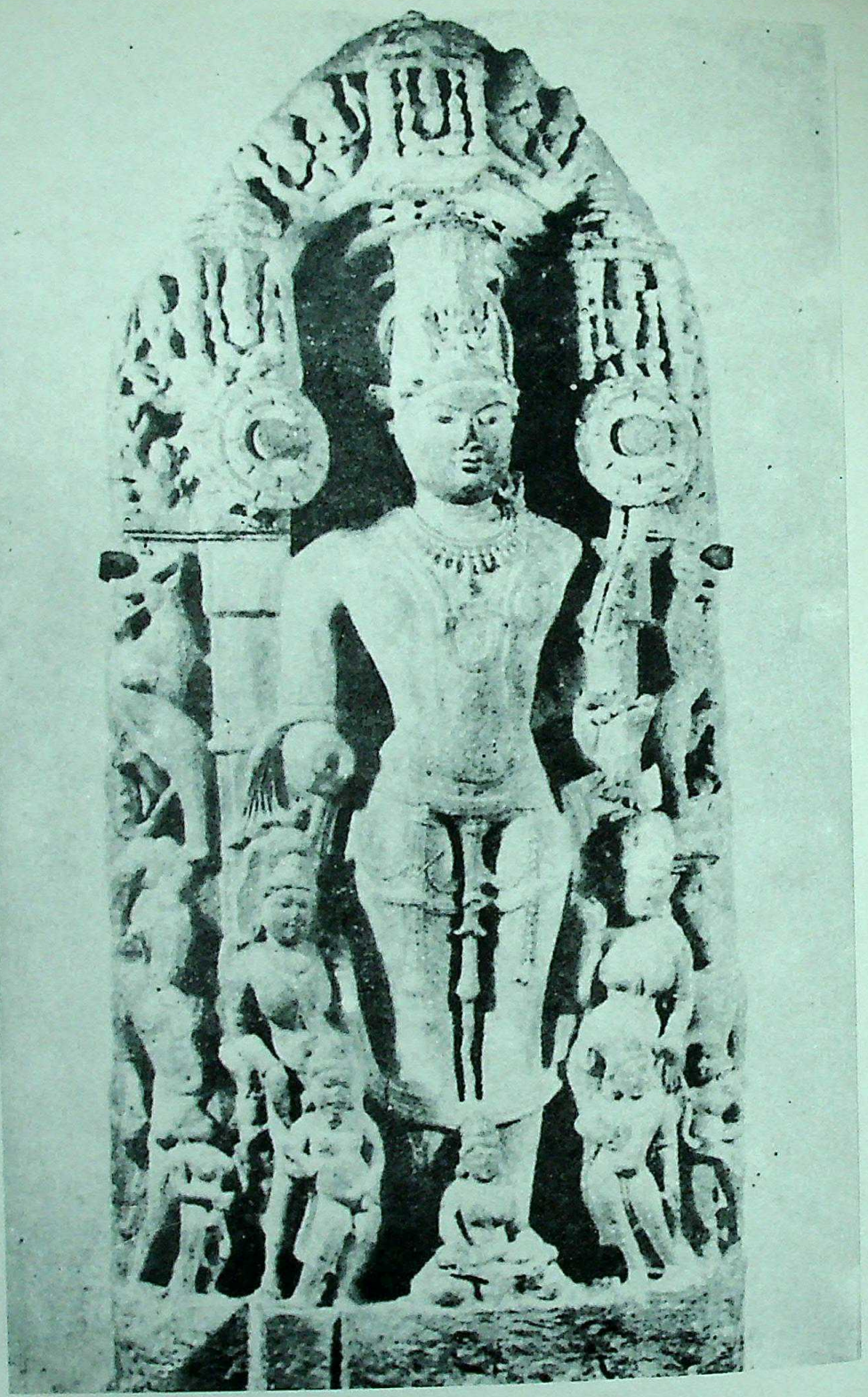

Sūrya from Gorakhpur, No.H.29 of Lucknow Museum.

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Sūrya from Mandor, Marwar.

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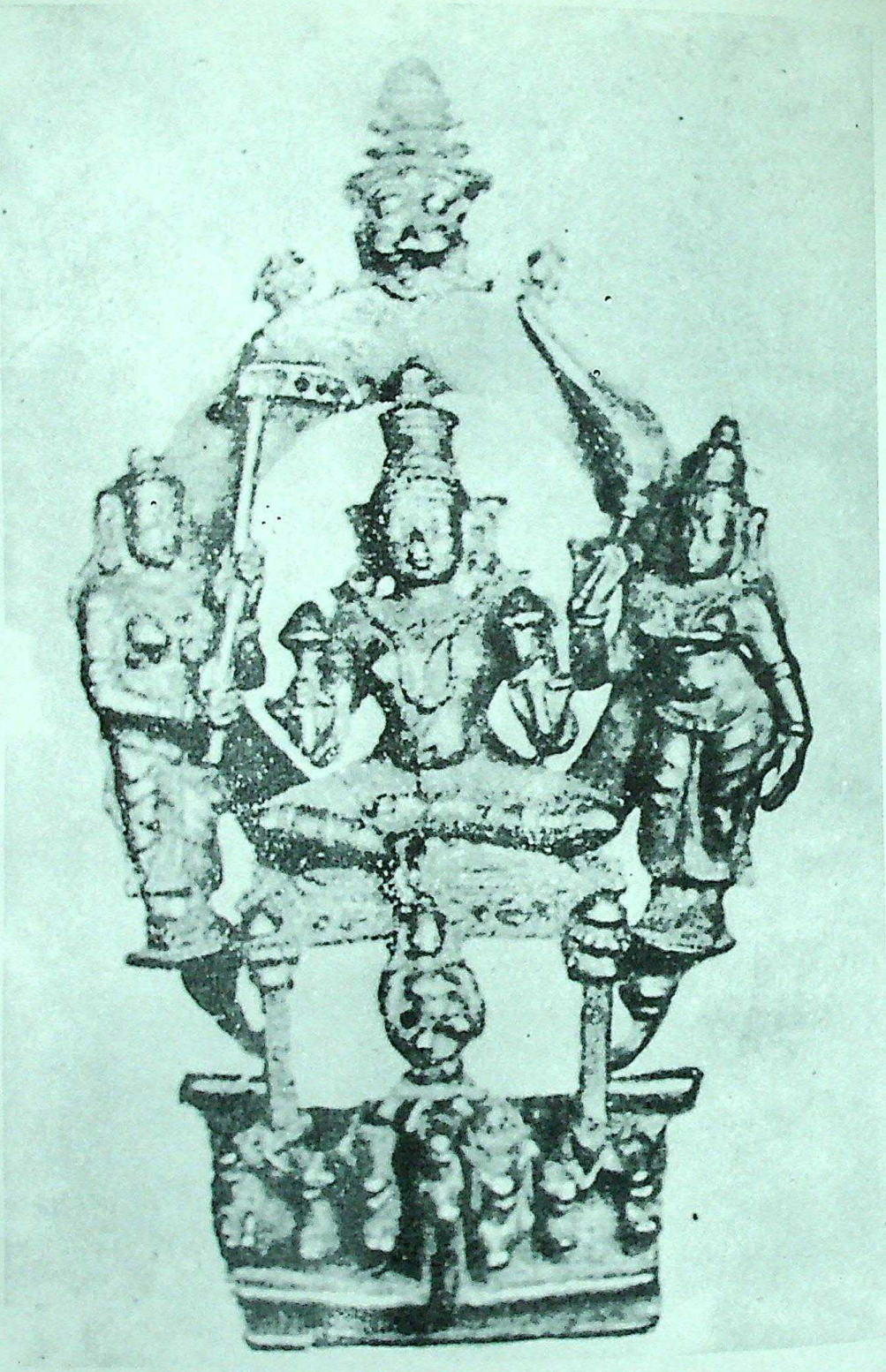

Bronze Sūrya in Madras Museum.

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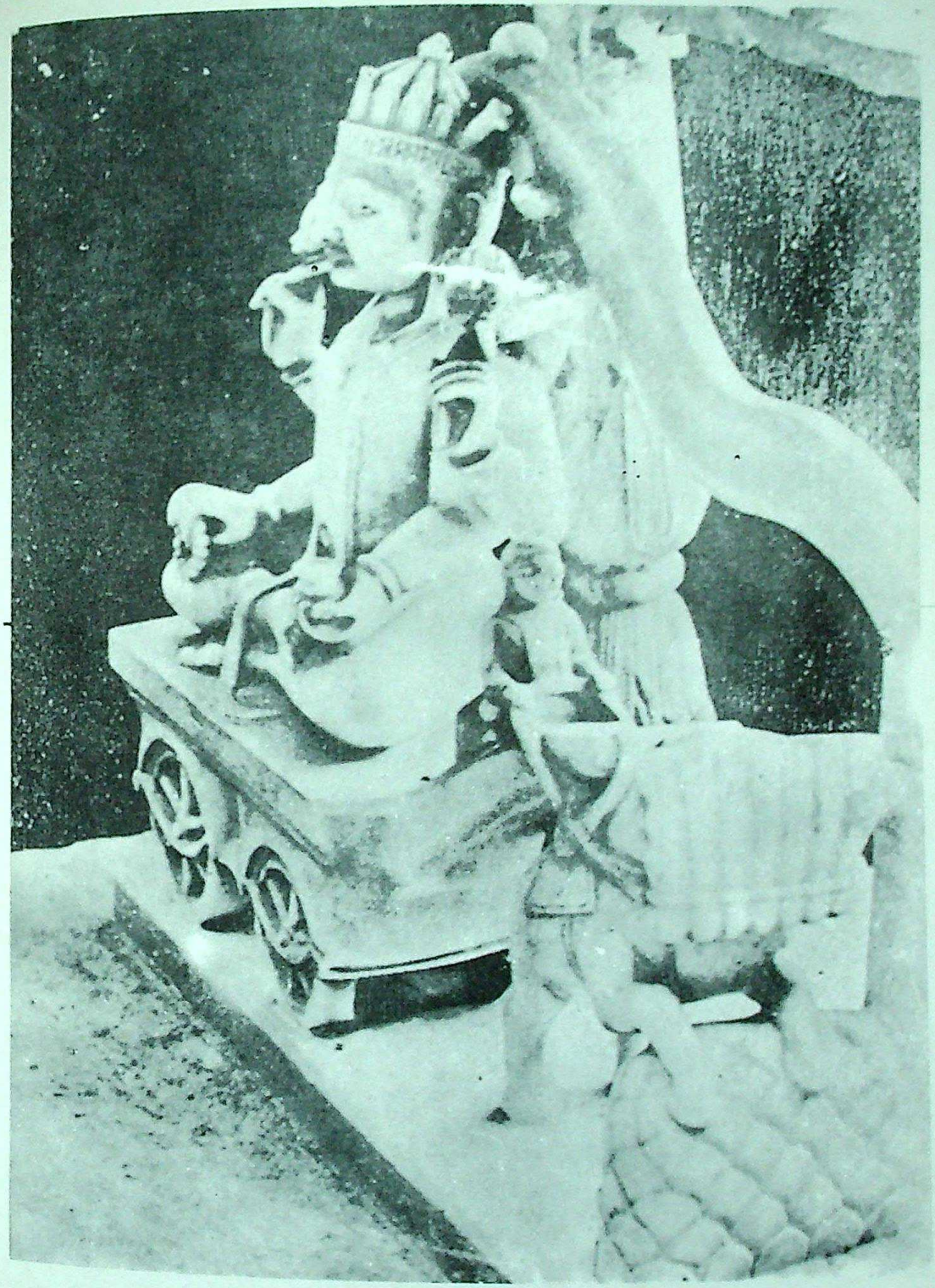

Sūrya from Rupnagar, Kishangarh District.

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Sūrya, Rajshahi Museum.

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Sūrya from Chapra, Rajshahi District, V.R.S. Museum.

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Sūrya from Dhamasa, Bakerganj District, now at Kotalipara, Faridpur District.

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Plate XXXV Close up of Plate XXXIV.

No.1. - Pingala.

No.2. - Dandin

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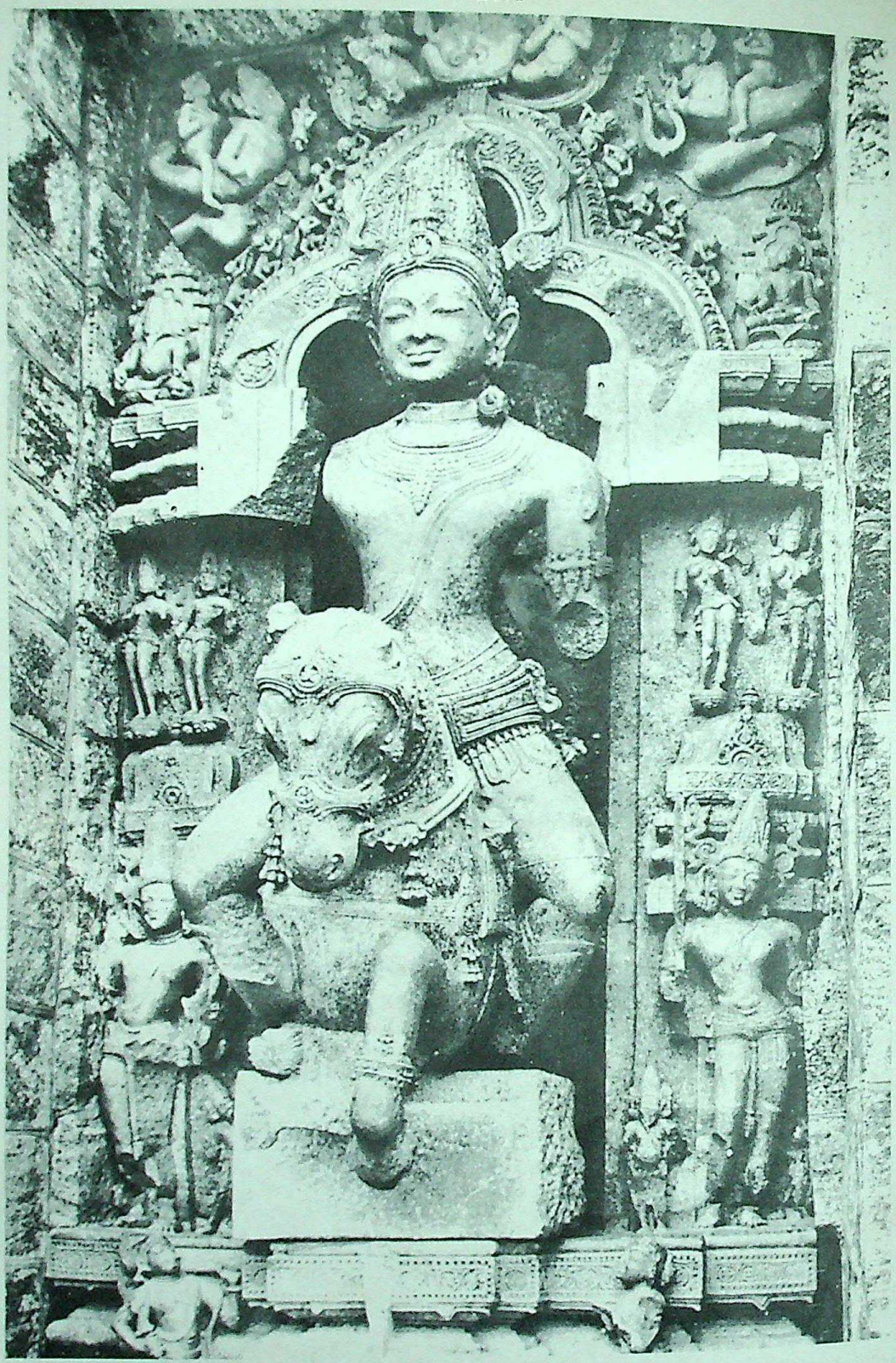

Sūrya at Konark.

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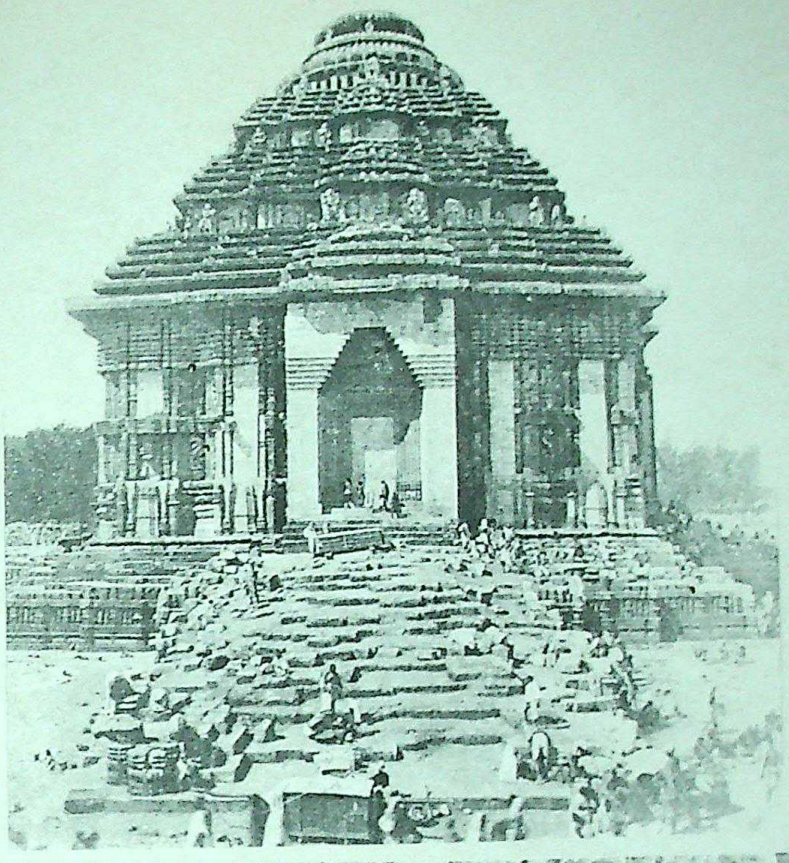
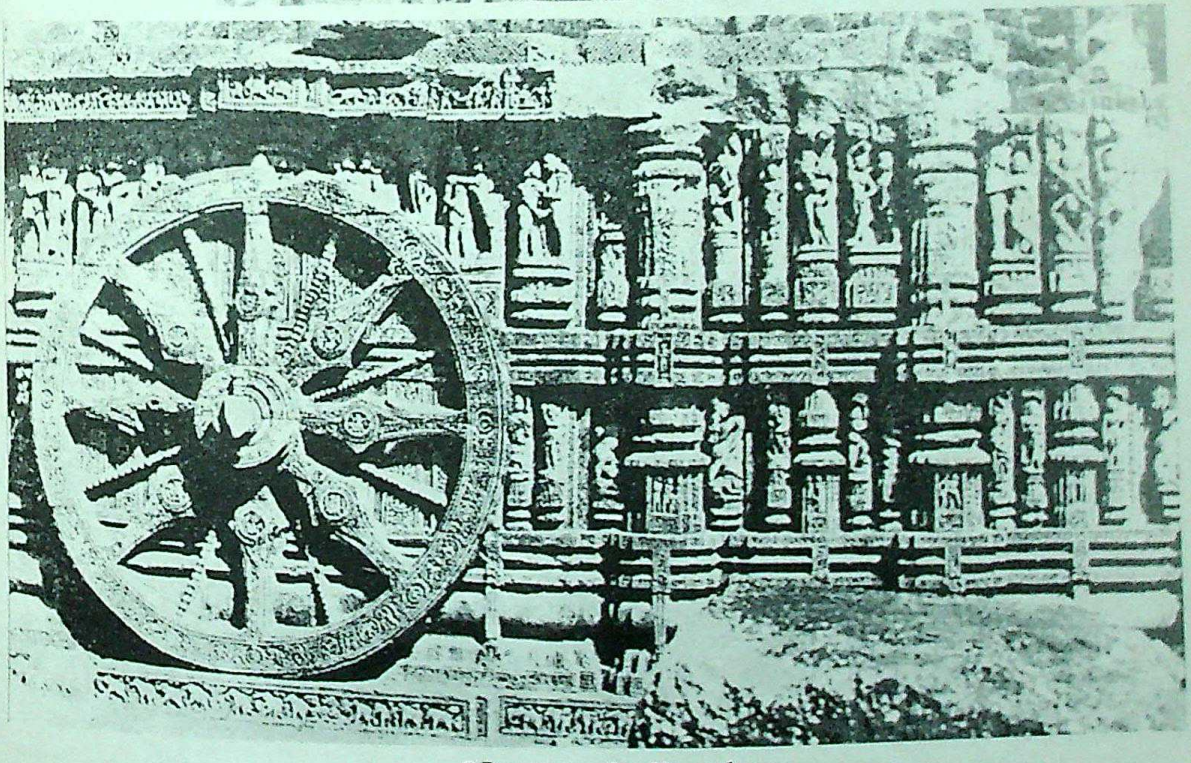
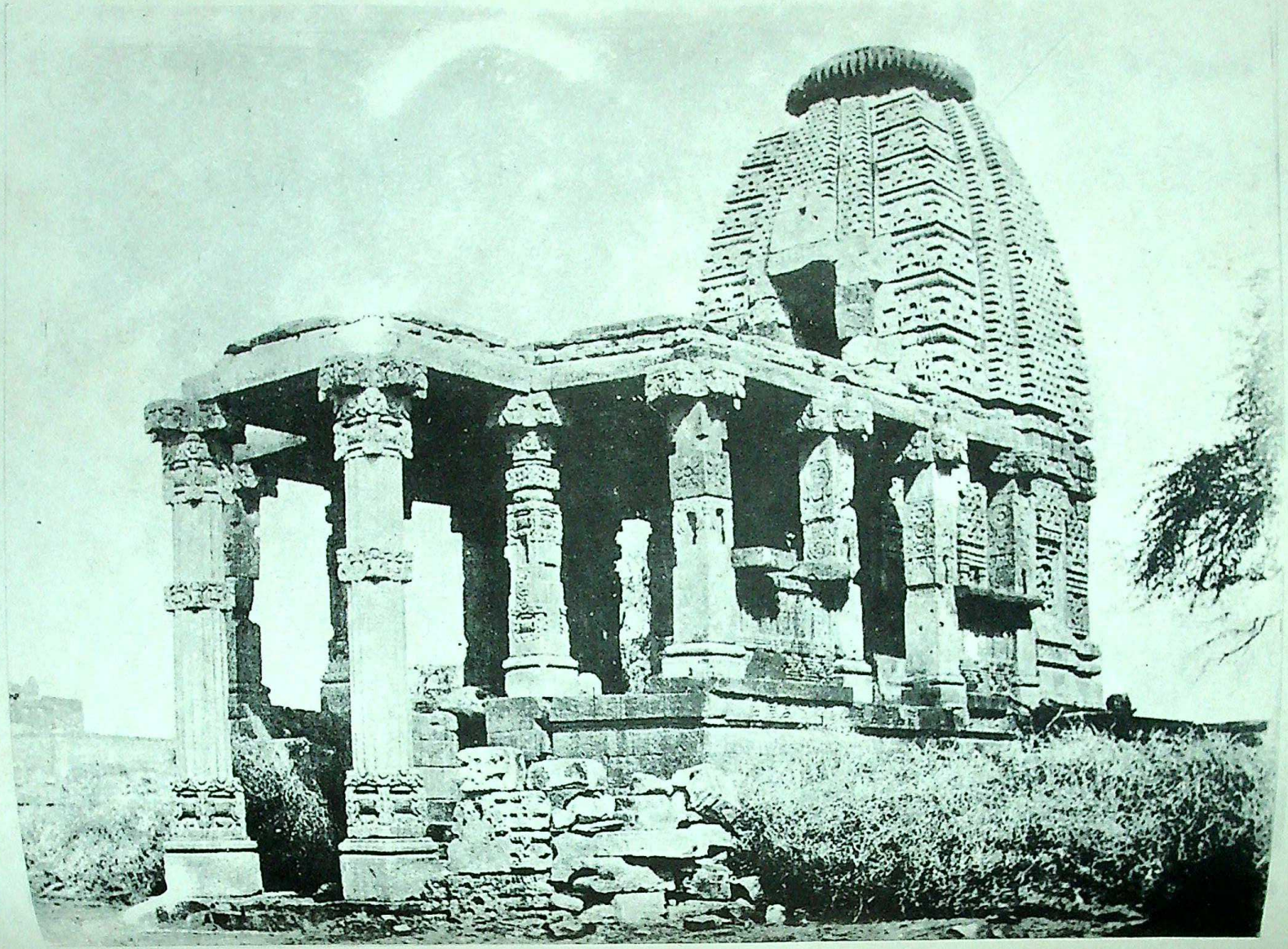




Sūrya temple, Konark.



Sūrya temple, Osia, Marwar.

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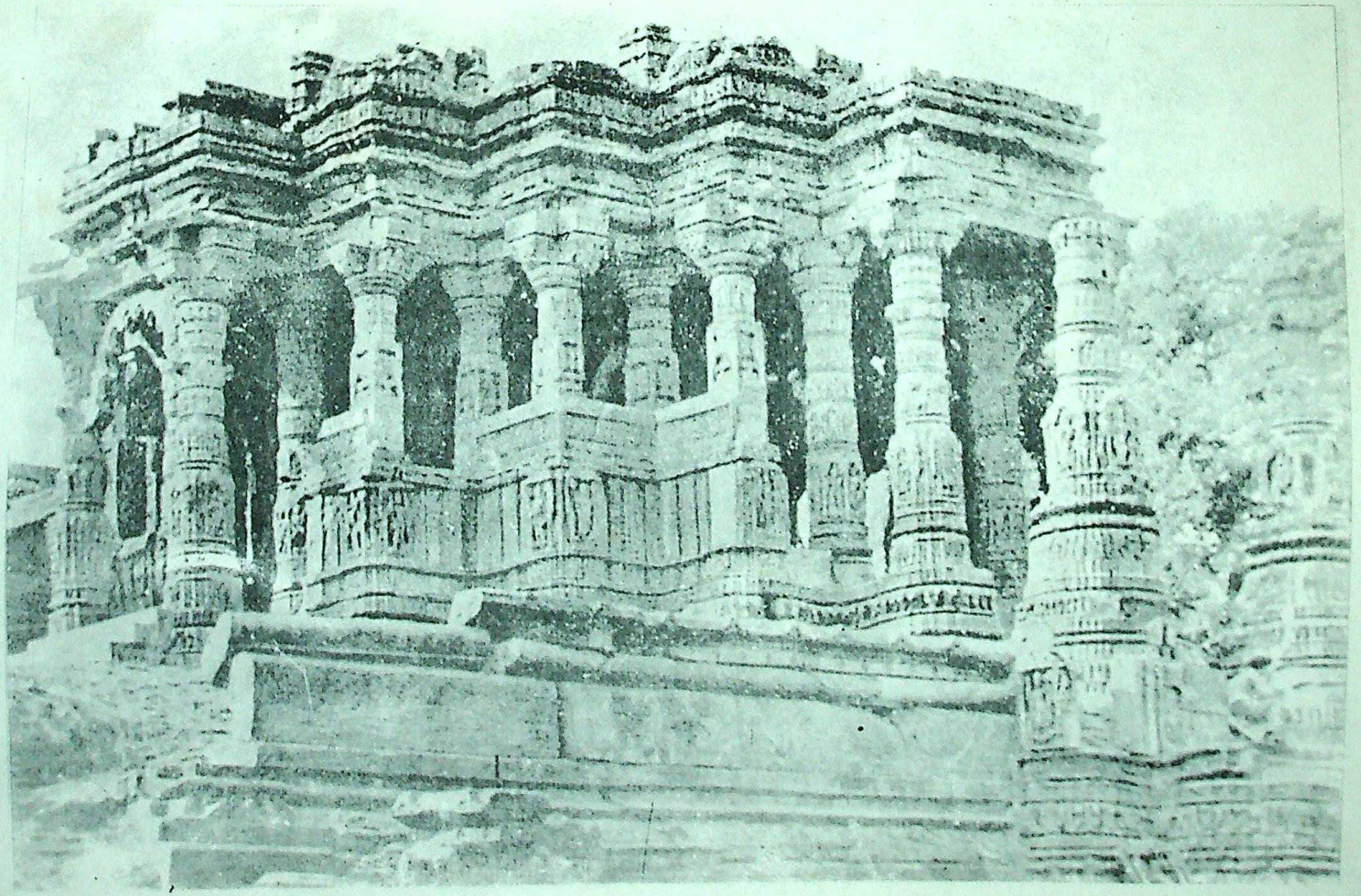
Sūrya temple, Osia, Marwar.

Plate XXXIX



Sūrya temple, Modhera (Gujarat).

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Plate XL

Sūrya temple, Martand, Kashmir.

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